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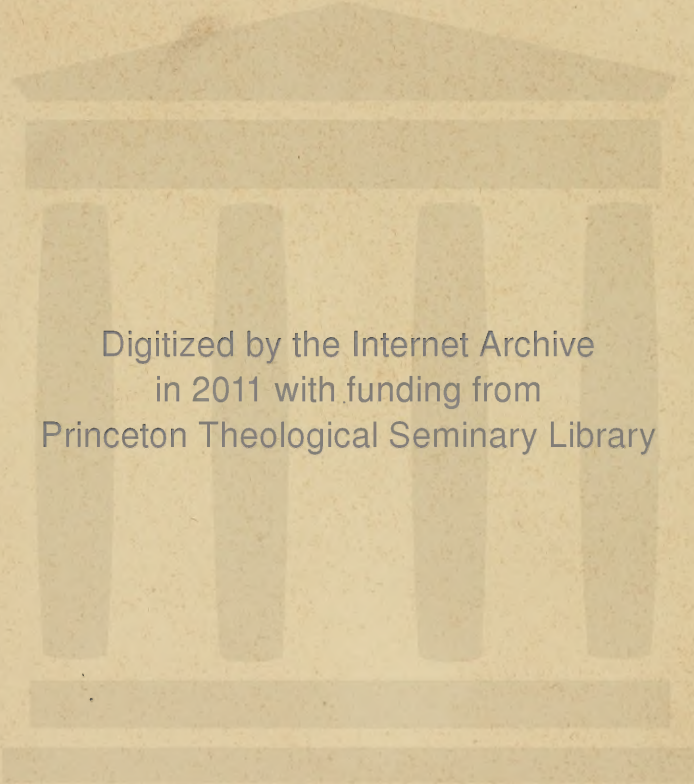
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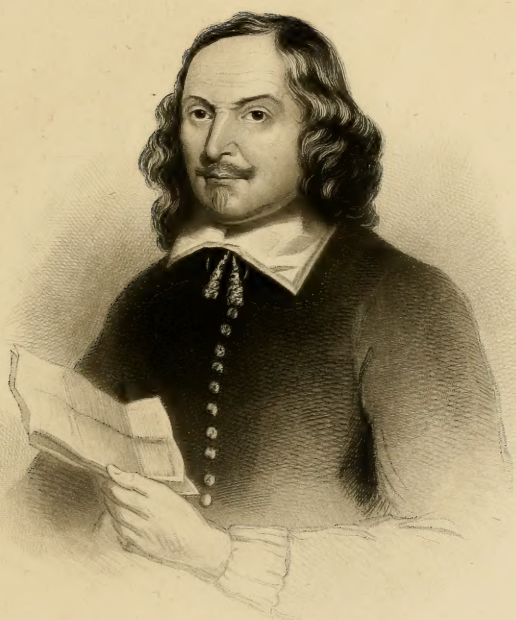
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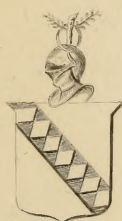
S. Schaff

U. L. Brown

LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH IN DEC. 1620.



Edw: Winslow



NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL.

BY

NATHANIEL MORTON,

SECRETARY TO THE COURT FOR THE JURISDICTION OF NEW-PLIMOUTH.

SIXTH EDITION.

ALSO

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH COLONY;
PORTIONS OF PRINCE'S CHRONOLOGY; GOVERNOR
BRADFORD'S DIALOGUE; GOV. WINSLOW'S
VISITS TO MASSASOIT;

WITH

NUMEROUS MARGINAL NOTES

AND AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING NUMEROUS ARTICLES RELATING TO THE LABORS,
PRINCIPLES, AND CHARACTER OF THE PURITANS
AND PILGRIMS.

Itur in antiquam sylvam.

BOSTON:
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Copy of the Title-Page of the First Edition.

NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL:
OR,
A BRIEF RELATION
OF THE
MOST MEMORABLE AND REMARKABLE PASSAGES
OF THE
PROVIDENCE OF GOD,
MANIFESTED TO THE
PLANTERS OF NEW-ENGLAND IN AMERICA:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE
FIRST COLONY THEREOF,
CALLED
NEW-PLIMOUTH.

AS ALSO A NOMINATION OF DIVERS OF THE MOST EMINENT
INSTRUMENTS DECEASED, BOTH OF CHURCH AND COM-
MONWEALTH, IMPROVED IN THE FIRST BEGINNING
AND AFTER PROGRESS OF SUNDRY OF THE RE-
SPECTIVE JURISDICTIONS IN THOSE PARTS;
IN REFERENCE UNTO SUNDRY EXEM-
PLARY PASSAGES OF THEIR LIVES,
AND THE TIME OF THEIR
DEATH.

Published for the use and benefit of present and future generations,

BY NATHANIEL MORTON,

SECRETARY TO THE COURT, FOR THE JURISDICTION
OF NEW-PLIMOUTH.

Deut. xxxii. 10. — He found him in a desert land, in the waste howling wilderness
he led him about; he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

Jer. ii. 2, 3. — I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espou-
sals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in the land that was not
sown, &c.

Deut. viii. 2, 16. — And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God
led thee this *forty years* in the wilderness, &c.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY S. G. AND M. J. FOR JOHN USHER OF BOSTON.

1669.

TO THE READER.

It is much to be desired there might be extant *A Compleat History of the United Colonies of New-England*, that God may have the praise of his goodness to his People here, and that the present and future Generations may have the benefit thereof. This being not attainable for the present, nor suddenly to be expected, it is very expedient, that (while sundry of the Eldest Planters are yet living) *Records and Memorials of Remarkable Providences* be preserved and published, that the true Originals of these Plantations may not be lost, that *New-England*, in all times to come, may remember the day of her smallest things, and that there may be a furniture of *Materials* for a true and full History in after-times.

For these and such-like Reasons we are willing to Recommend unto the Reader this present *Narrative* as a Useful Piece. The Author is an approved godly man, and one of the first Planters at *Plimouth*. The Work itself is Compiled with Modesty of Spirit, Simplicity of Style, and truth of Matter, containing the *Annals* of *New-England* for the space of 47 years, with special reference to *Plimouth* Colony, which was the first, and where the Author hath had his constant abode: And (yet so far as his Intelligence did reach) relating many remarkable Passages in the several Colonies: and also making an honourable mention of divers of the most Eminent Servants of God that have been amongst us in several parts of the Country, after they had finished their course. We hope that the Labour of this good man will find a general Acceptance amongst the People of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the Colonies (who have had knowledge of things from the beginning) to contribute their Observations and Memorials also; by which means what is wanting in this *Narrative* may be supplied by some others: and so in the issue, from divers *Memorials* there may be matter for a just *History* of *New-England* in the Lord's good time. In the mean time, this may stand for a *Monument*, and be deservedly acknowledged as an *Ebenezer*, that *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us*.

March 26, 1669.

John Higginson,*
Thomas Thacher.†

* Minister of Salem, died Dec. 9, 1708, in the 93d year of his age.

† First minister of the Old South Church, in Boston, died October 15, 1678.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It is the design of the Congregational Board of Publication to publish, not only the writings of eminent men relating to Christian doctrine, but such books, experimental and historical, as give a practical illustration of the influence of these doctrines upon those who embrace them. With this view the Society have selected for publication, the *New England's Memorial*, a time-honored book, and long accredited as an impartial history of the first half century of the Pilgrim Fathers and the Pilgrim churches. The life and character of the writer and his public station were such, that from the first, the public mind was prepared to give full credit to his statements. Many facts and circumstances, not known, or not noticed by him, and now considered as essential to a full knowledge and illustration of the religious character of the Pilgrim Fathers, have been collected from other sources, and are inserted in the notes and appendix of this edition.

It had come to be pretty generally known that Governor Bradford had written a history of the Pilgrims, and of the colony from 1602 to 1647, not only from what the author of the Memorial says, but from the testimony of Governor Hutchinson, who used it in writing his history, as also of Rev. Mr. Prince, who used it in compiling his annals. It contained 270 pages quarto, and must have been of great value,

but the most diligent search of historians and antiquarians to find it entire, has failed. Mr. Prince says, "Morton's History from the beginning of the Plymouth people to the end of 1646, is chiefly Gov. Bradford's manuscript abbreviated." An important part of this manuscript was copied by Secretary Morton himself, and placed upon the Church Records at Plymouth, as appears from a marginal note on the first page of said records. A part of this has been published by Rev. Mr. Young, in his *Chronicles*. We publish in this edition such parts of this record as are not contained in the Memorial, which certainly adds much weight to the statements of Morton, and gives additional interest and authenticity to the pilgrim history. Gov. Bradford's qualifications and character were such that his narrative is fully reliable. "No man stands better than he on the rolls of history, civil or ecclesiastical."

We have added such other articles as seemed desirable to make this volume a complete narrative of the events of the time included, viz.: Gov. Bradford's Dialogue between the young men and ancient men, the two visits of Gov. Winslow to Massasoit, the labors of the early settlers for the instruction of the Indians, the Faith and Order of the Leyden-Plymouth Church, and large extracts from Rev. Mr. Hunter's recent work, showing more conclusively than has heretofore been done, the early residence of Brewster and Bradford, and the location of their first place of separate worship.

The Memorial was first published in 1669, in the lifetime of the author, Nathaniel Morton, who, three years after the settlement of Plymouth, being then eleven years of age, came thither from his native town in the north of England, with his father and mother. (She was the sister of Gov. Bradford.) In 1645, he was elected clerk of the Colony Court, and held that office forty years, till the time of his death.

His work was printed at Cambridge in a small quarto volume, and the Colony of Plymouth defrayed part of the expenses. A second edition was printed in Boston in 1721, with a supplement by Josiah Cotton, Esq.; a third in Newport in 1772; a fourth edition at Plymouth, 1826. A fifth edition was prepared by Hon. John Davis, and published in Boston in 1826. We have revised and compared the text of this last with the first edition, and prepared, from the original sources, many new explanatory notes.

Messrs. Thatcher and Higginson, eminent divines, it will be noticed in the original preface, speak of the author as a godly man, and that the work is compiled of truthful matter, and the author acknowledges his indebtedness to the manuscript of Governors Bradford and Winslow, though he himself collected all the papers which he thought could be of any use to the colony.

We have deemed it appropriate and fitting to publish some historical and explanatory account of the principles and polity of their order and the usages of their churches, as embraced and practised by Robinson, his associates and successors, that we may have in the same volume a more extended narrative of the principles and motives of these renowned men. And here we acknowledge our indebtedness to the Hon. Zachariah Eddy of Middleboro', for the historical notice of the Leyden Church, which migrated to Plymouth, and its influence in the gathering of similar churches at home and abroad, which, with other important matter, we annex as an appendix to this history. Mr. Eddy has given great attention to this subject for many years, and is well versed in the history of that church, its principles and usages, and the subsequent progress of Independency in England and in this country. We are indebted to him also for some of the notes in this volume.

In regard to their origin, it is not easy to fix upon the precise time when the Puritans first existed as a distinct party. They are called Puritans, who would have the church thoroughly reformed, that is, purged from all those inventions which have been brought into it since the age of the Apostles, and reduced entirely to the Scripture purity.

Bancroft and some others have supposed that the refusal of Hooper to be consecrated in vestments, as the Bishop of Gloucester, marks the era when the Puritans first existed as a separate party.

From documents more recently discovered, it seems that their origin may be traced to the days of Wickliffe.

"The struggle between the old and the new Theology," says Macauley, "was long and the event was somewhat doubtful. Henry the VIII. attempted to constitute an Anglican Church, differing from the Roman Catholic, on the point of supremacy only. By the agency of Cranmer, a compromise was made, and to this day, the constitution, the doctrines, and the services of the English Church retain the visible marks of the compromise from which she sprang. She occupies a middle position between the churches of Rome and Geneva. The controversy was not yet settled. As the priest of the established church was from interest, from principle, and from passion, zealous for the royal prerogatives; the Puritan was from interest, from principle, and from passion hostile to them. During the greater part of the reign of Elizabeth, the Puritans in the House of Commons felt no disposition to array themselves in systematic opposition to the government. But the leaven was at work, and the opposition which had, during forty years, been silently gathering and husbanding strength, in the Parliament of 1601, fought its first great battle.

"The political and religious schism which had originated in

the 16th century was, during the first quarter of the 17th century, constantly widening. Theories tending to Turkish despotism were in fashion at Whitehall. Theories tending to republicanism were in favor with a large portion of the House of Commons. The Prelatists who were zealous for prerogative, and the Puritans who were zealous for the privileges of Parliament, regarded each other with animosity."

Those who with the spirit of Wickliffe, Huss, and Calvin, presumed to assert their rights, were met with the same violent opposition as were their prototypes. An Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission was established consisting of forty-four persons, — twelve bishops, and the others privy counsellors, clergymen, and civilians, for the detection and punishment of non-conformity to the established church. Individuals were condemned and hung for distributing tracts on religious liberty. But the Puritans were not to be thus subdued, for they were conscientious and intrepid men.

They could not be compelled by threats, imprisonment, or death, to compromise their principles. Compromise was regarded by them as apostasy. Neither the offer of pardon, nor the pains of a lingering death could induce them to waver or hesitate. They were the implacable adversaries of religious oppression. They admitted of no hierarchy in the church, — of no parliament or king to interpret for them the word of God, which they made their only standard, and, under its guide, conformed their ecclesiastical discipline to republican simplicity. Separate congregations were formed, and secession from the established church was advocated. The government became alarmed, and penalties were inflicted, but all to no purpose, except to give more publicity to the sentiments of the Puritans, and to increase their number, until it was said in Parliament "that there were in England

twenty thousand of those who frequented conventicles." After forty years of persecution the number of non-conformists was found to be greatly increased, and their opposition to the established church had become irreconcilable. They had become a strong political party, and ventured openly to demand a reform in the church. On the accession of King James hopes were indulged of a more lenient administration, but only to be disappointed. Petitions for the redress of abuses were denied, and religious assemblies and free discussion prohibited. But such pressure only increased their numbers, until the Houses of Commons became their ally in the defence of liberty against despotism. On the other hand, the enmity and violence of the King and the church were increased, and in 1604, it is said three hundred Puritan ministers were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled; yet the party was not destroyed, but continued to be the sole guardians of civil and religious liberty.

The separation was becoming more marked. A congregation of Independents had been formed in the north of England, and as early as 1592, a petition was presented to the Crown for permission to go to America, there to enjoy the civil and ecclesiastical privileges for which they were contending.

We are indebted to Rev. John Waddington, pastor of the Pilgrim Church, Southwark, London, for an exact copy of the original petition (above alluded to) of the Separatists. This was recently discovered by Mr. Waddington. And being an interesting document, which should be preserved, we insert it here.

"To the Right Honorable, the Lords of her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council:

"Whereas, we her Majesty's natural born subjects, true and loyal — now lying many of us in other countries as men

exiled her Highness' Dominions, and the rest which remain within Her Grace's land greatly distressed through imprisonment and other great troubles sustained only for some matters of conscience, in which our most lamentable estate, we cannot in that measure perform the duty of subjects as we desire: and also whereas means is now offered for our being in a foreign and far country which lieth to the west from hence, in the province of Canada, where by the providence of the Almighty, and her Majesty's most gracious favor, we may not only worship God as we are in conscience persuaded by His Word — but also do unto her Majesty and our country great good service, and in time also greatly annoy that bloody and persecuting Spaniard about the Bay of Mexico. Our most humble suit is, that it may please your honors to be a means unto her excellent Majesty, that with her most gracious favor and protection we may peaceably depart thither, and there remaining to be accounted her Majesty's faithful and loving subjects — to whom we owe all duty and obedience in the Lord, promising hereby and taking God to record, who searcheth the hearts of all people — that where-soever we become we will by the grace of God live and die faithful to her Highness and this land of our nativity.

“Endorsed:—

“THE HUMBLE PETITION OF HER HIGHNESS' FAITHFUL SUBJECTS,
FALSELY CALLED BROWNISTS. NOV. 1592.”

We shall expect other documents throwing light upon the history of our Puritan ancestors from the same individual, who is finding many original manuscripts in relation to them, and who expresses his confident “belief that with adequate care and attention the course of the hidden church from which the Pilgrims sprang may be traced from the days of Wickliffe, and that papers are in existence that will show the

gradual development of the principles which lie not only at the foundation of American greatness — but which will tend to secure for humanity in its widest range, the freedom, peace, security, and happiness — that by possibility, can have no existence without them."

In principle, they were Calvinists and Protestants, renouncing human authority in matters of faith, and claiming the liberty to form their views and regulate their practice according to their own judgment of the Word of God. Their unshaken confidence in the doctrines they embraced, sustained them in their sufferings, and disposed them to persevere until their departure from England; and their arrival in Holland marked the beginning of the adventures and pilgrimage recorded in the following pages, in which the reader will have an interesting portion of the history of these world-renowned men.

A reliable English writer has said: "The Puritans saved England in the 17th century from a relapse into Popery. On this account, they deserved to be honored and loved by the Protestants of the present day. In all probability the salvation of England from such a relapse in the 19th century will depend, under God, upon the men who imbibe their sentiments and emulate their piety and heroism. From the beginning, Puritanism has been the soul of English Protestantism, and therefore its history deserves to be diligently studied, and its spirit gratefully revered by all who really value the cause of the Reformation."

If so much can be said of the influence of the Puritans in Old England, how much more of their influence in New England. To them we are indebted for both our ecclesiastical and civil institutions. And if these institutions are to be preserved and perpetuated in their simplicity and purity for another century, it will be from the remains of Puritan integrity and influence.

Stoughton, in his *Spiritual Heroes*, says:—

“Men who have no sympathy with their bold and ardent spirit, and their fearless love of what they felt to be right, have charged them with pride, but the truth is, that deep humility was a distinguished element of their character. In matters of conscience they asserted their independence of the creature, because they cherished an unwavering reliance on their Creator.”

“To say,” observes Dr. Arnold, “that the Puritans were wanting in humility, because they did not acquiesce in the state of things which they found around them, is a mere extravagance arising out of a total misapprehension of the nature of humility, and of the merits of the feeling of veneration.

“All earnestness and depth of character is incompatible with such notion of humility. A man deeply penetrated with some great truth, and compelled, as it were, to obey it, cannot listen to every one who may be indifferent to it or opposed to it.

“There is a voice to which he already owes obedience, which he serves with the humblest devotion, which he worships with the most intense veneration. It is not that such feelings are dead in him, but that he has bestowed them on one object, and they are claimed for another. This charge of want of humility is one frequently brought by weaker and baser minds against the stronger and nobler, not seldom by those who are at once arrogant and indifferent against those who are, in truth, as humble as they are zealous.” Such is the noble vindication of the Puritans, by the distinguished Arnold, Professor of History, in that University where the men in question have been so often maligned. And Stoughton, in his *Sketches of the Puritans*, says, “Their stern moral

grandeur illuminates the sixteenth century with a solemn light which excites awe, while it inspires admiration."

An ample roll of serious thought is opened when, from the eminence of prosperity where we stand, we go back to the lonely graves, whither was followed one after another good man, "that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus' and the gospel's sake, and borne his part in weal and woe with this poor, persecuted church in England, Holland, and this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling." And even those specimens of elegiac poetry which this rich volume furnishes, though doubtless not the most harmonious offspring of the muse, have to our view the better merit of the solemn, hopeful, affectionate spirit of noble natures.

The Memorial and Bradford's history exhibit the characteristics of strong-hearted and venerable men and women.

There are strong reasons why all the people of our land should read these memorials, and make themselves familiar with the character of their pious ancestors, whose principles made them what they were, and became the basis of all our good institutions.

We cannot better express our views of the importance of the subject-matter before us, than by inserting here a few brief extracts from distinguished men relating to Plymouth and the Pilgrims. This will also give the reader, the judgment and testimony of others, in regard to the importance of that portion of our history comprised in this volume.

President Dwight says, "Plymouth was the first town built in New England by civilized men; and those by whom it was built were inferior in worth to no body of men whose names are recorded in history during the last 1700 years. A kind of venerableness, arising from these facts, attaches to

this town which may be termed a prejudice. Still, it has its foundation in the nature of man, and will never be eradicated either by philosophy or ridicule. No New Englander who is willing to indulge his native feeling, can stand upon the rock where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions very different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard that spot with emotions wholly different from those which are excited by other places of equal or even superior importance." *

“Two hundred years ago the colony of Plymouth was one of the most important on the North American continent. Its chief town was the equal in rank with New Amsterdam and Boston. Its governors and magistrates were statesmen whose names are immortal. The acts of its Council, the wars in which it was engaged, the famines and pestilences it endured, and every event that affected its welfare and prosperity, are matters of which we read in the histories of the nation. The classic names of Athens and Sparta, and even of Rome itself, are not more familiar to the memory, than is that of Plymouth; and in the time to come there is no spot upon the earth that will possess in the hearts of men an interest more universal and enduring than the Rock at which ended the long and weary voyage of the passengers of the *Mayflower*. We have all heard and read of Plymouth; the very mention of its name sounds in our ears like the key-note of a national anthem of liberty.

“Five millions of us claim to have descended from its early

colonists; there is hardly a day in all the year, in which we do not hear, or utter an allusion to Plymouth, or the Pilgrim Fathers, in sermon, oration, speech, or conversation,—we boast of the religion of the Puritans, and assert, what no one can deny, that the Pilgrim Fathers shaped the model which has given the form to our free institutions and government, and acknowledge the town of Plymouth to have been the birthplace of our nation.”*

“ We are singularly fortunate in having our whole national rise and progress lie within the limits of recorded time. What would be the price of Cadmus’ journal upon the land of lost gods and godlike men, of Romulus’ assignment of the two acres of land to each primeval citizen? Undoubtedly we owe as much to the settlers of Plymouth and Salem, as Greece and Rome professed to owe to their fabulous dynasties of kings. Bradford and Winthrop were in all respects quite as praiseworthy persons as Theseus and Numa.

“ Plymouth is the oldest of the New England colonies, and to its early success may be traced the origin of all the others. It is the place where civilization and Christianity were first introduced into New England. It has been the scene of many a trial, and of the fulfilment of many a high resolve. It was here that the government, based on the will of the governed, was first established on the American continent, and the great principle, that all should obey such laws as a majority of the people should make, distinctly acknowledged. No people had so fully appreciated the rights of each member of the state; none had felt so deeply the great cause of humanity, or entertained such cheering hopes of human improvement. They were men of strong minds, and made a proper estimate of the value of their political and

* Harper’s Magazine, Dec. 1853.

religious principles. They placed but little value on wealth or rank. They acted from higher motives than these afford. They had among them men of preëminent talents and character. As a civil magistrate, Bradford, the father of the colony, would by his sound good sense and elevated patriotism, have done honor to any age. Of the services of Brewster, we can hardly make too high an estimate. For twenty-four years he was the spiritual father and guide of the colony. He came with the Pilgrims, and with them he was willing to endure and suffer. Success was never to be despaired of when Standish led the way. The Winslows, Allerton, Alden, Hatherly, Prince, and Hinkley, were all good men and true, who in their efforts and sacrifices, had no other object in view than their country's good, and the progress of truth and righteousness. In their intercourse with the Indians, the people of the colony set a bright example of humanity, and the same sense of justice is here witnessed that pervaded all their public and private acts. Not a foot of soil was taken from them without their consent. Their treaty with Massasoit was most scrupulously observed. In their conduct toward the Quakers, they were comparatively mild and humane, preferring to let their errors be promulgated, and die unmolested, rather than make them martyrs by the prison or the gallows." *

Mistakes have sometimes been made by not distinguishing between the two colonies. During the time covered by the Memorial, Plymouth was a separate colony, and was governed by officers of their choice, and had not been united with Massachusetts, and was not until 1692. The planters of Massachusetts were *not Pilgrims*, but their proper designation was that of *Puritans*. The Pilgrims were "the old

* North American Review, Vol. L. p. 336, and on.

comers," the immigrants in the three first ships to Plymouth; the *fugitives*, the exiles, the wanderers, and the final settlers on the Rock.

"Through scenes of gloom and misery, the Pilgrims showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion, or the liberty of conscience. Accustomed in their native land to no more than a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry, they set the example of colonizing New England, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. Enduring every hardship themselves, they were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world many pages are devoted to commemorate the heroes who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. A colony is a better offering than a victory; the citizens of the United States should rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of democratic liberty,—the fathers of the country,—the men who, as they first trod the soil of the new world, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence."*

"The Pilgrims were actuated by that principle which has given the first impulse to all the great movements of the modern world,—I mean *profound religious faith*." "This is the spirit which in all ages has wrought the moral miracles of humanity."†

"The Pilgrim Fathers cannot be remembered too often or revered too deeply;—and that not as a mere matter of respect and gratitude to the dead, but for the improvement and instruction of the living. Rarely, indeed, has there been a moment in our history, when it was more important than

* Bancroft's History, Vol. I. 322.

† Edward Everett.

at this moment that the American people should remember, not merely the rock on which the Pilgrims landed, but the *Rock* in which they trusted, and should cherish and hold fast the *principles* which fitted them to become the fathers and founders of a great country. It will be well if we do not forget that the only safe and sure progress is the '*Pilgrim's Progress*;'—a progress begun, continued, and ended in the fear of God, in respect for government, in the love of freedom, and in justice to all mankind. Let the descendants of the Pilgrims see to it, that their lives and practice are in keeping with the origin of which they are so justly proud, let them prove their title to hail from Plymouth Rock, not merely by genealogies and pedigrees, but by emblazoning the *virtues and principles* of the Pilgrims upon their own character and conduct. Then will our country be secure."*

"*The Sons and Daughters of New England.*—May their contributions to the true glory of the republic be ever exhibited in an unwavering fidelity to those *principles* of their Pilgrim fathers that were founded upon THE ROCK."†

We have made these quotations from distinguished men, (and we might add many others,) as evidence of the high and universal veneration with which are regarded the *Character and Principles* of our PILGRIM FATHERS. In issuing this volume, we desire to perpetuate to future generations the knowledge of these men—their sufferings, their self-denial, their perseverance, which were the result of their unshaken confidence in God—their "firm belief that the Lord was with them, and that he would graciously prosper their endeavors, according to the simplicity of their hearts." They uttered these words with sincerity, embarked in a just cause, and succeeded. We may hope that many by reading this

* Robert C. Winthrop.

† Gov. Clifford.

volume, will cherish their memory, imbibe their spirit, and perpetuate their principles. Nothing seems to bring us so near to them as to read the history of their doings written in their own style by those of their own time and number.

We seem to be in their company and to join in their consultations and their prayers while they contemplate their removal to America. We sympathize in their crosses, and few comforts. We admire their pious magnanimity and constancy, and almost feel their sufferings. May it be the means of deepening our convictions of the importance of their religious principles, and of the desirableness of that strong and living faith which sustained their hearts, impelled them forward in their pilgrimage, and enabled them to say, "*as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing.*"

Their history serves as a powerful illustration of the truth and efficacy of their principles, and furnishes an example worthy of our grateful admiration.

" O ye, who proudly boast,
In your free veins the blood of sires like these,
Look to their lineaments. Dread lest ye loose
Their likeness in your sons. Should Mammon cling
Too close around your heart, or wealth beget
That bloated luxury which eats the core
From manly virtue, or the tempting world
Make faint the Christian purpose in your soul,
Turn ye to Plymouth rock, and where they knelt,
Kneel, and renew the vow they breathed to God."

Boston, 1855.

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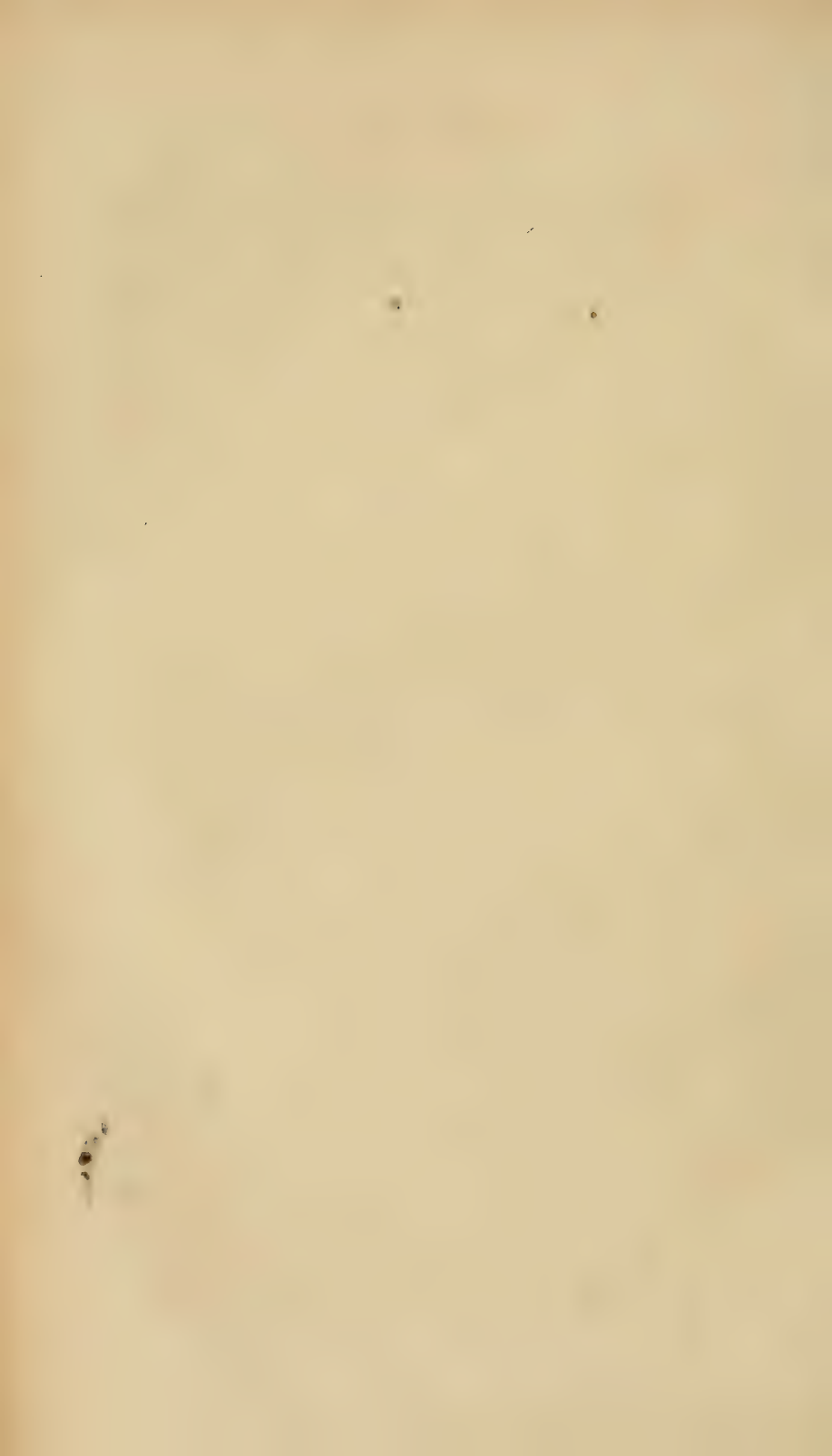
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NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL.



TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, THOMAS PRINCE, ESQ.,
GOVERNOR OF THE JURISDICTION OF NEW PLIMOUTH;
WITH
THE WORSHIPFUL, THE MAGISTRATES,
HIS ASSISTANTS IN THE SAID GOVERNMENT:

*N. M. wisheth Peace and Prosperity in this life, and Eternal Happiness in that
which is to come.*

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

THE consideration of the weight of duty that lieth upon us, to commemorate to future generations the memorable passages of God's providence to us and our predecessors in the beginning of this plantation, hath wrought in me a restlessness of spirit, and earnest desire, that something might be achieved in that behalf, more (or at least otherwise) than as yet hath been done. Many discouragements I have met with, both from within and without myself; but reflecting upon the ends I have proposed to myself in setting out in this work, it hath afforded me some support, viz. the glory of God, and the good of present and future generations. Being also induced hereunto by the consideration that yourselves (especially some of you) are fully acquainted with many of the particulars,

both concerning persons and things, inserted in the following narrative, and can, on your own knowledge, assert them for truth. Were it so, that any other had travelled in this kind, in such a way as might have conduced to a brief and satisfactory intelligence in particulars relating to the premises, I would have spared this labor, and have satisfied myself in perusal of their works, rather than to have set pen to paper about the same; but having never seen nor heard of any, especially respecting this our plantation of New Plimouth, which God hath honored to be the first in this land, I have made bold to present your Worships with, and to publish to the world, something of the very first beginnings of the great actions of God in New England, begun at New Plimouth: wherein, the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study, from the year 1620 unto 1646; whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important affairs, we might probably have had these things from an abler pen, and better digested, than now you may expect. Certain diurnals of the honored Mr. Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help: and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge) than I have studied quaintness in expressions.

I should gladly have spoken more particularly of the neighboring united colonies, whose ends and aims in their transplanting of themselves and families, were the same with ours, viz. the glory of God, the propagation of the gospel, and enlargement of his Majesty's dominions; but for want of intelligence, and that I may not prevent a better pen, I shall only make mention of some of their worthies that we have been most acquainted with.

I shall not insist upon the clime nor soil of the country, its commodities, or discommodities; nor at large on the natives,

or their customs and manners, all of which have been already declared by Capt. Smith, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Williams, Mr. Wood, and others. What it is, and what my aims at God's glory, and my good affection to the place and people of whom I treat, may make it, I present your Worships with, humbly craving your favorable aspect, and good acceptance of my poor endeavors; and that myself and it may find protection and shelter under the wings of your pious patronage, to defend us against such critical and censorious eyes and tongues, as may either carp at my expressions, or misconstrue my intentions. The ample experience I have had of your undeserved favor and respect to me, in my many years service of the public, and my observation in that time, that you have desired something of this nature might be done, hath encouraged me hereunto. Your good acceptance whereof, shall ever oblige me to answerable returning of gratitude, and administer to me further cause of thankfulness, that God hath given me an habitation under your just and prudent administrations; and wish for a succession of such as may be skilful to lead our Israel in this their peregrination; and when God shall take you hence, to receive the crown of your labors and travels. So prayeth,

Your Worship's humble servant,

NATHANIEL MORTON.

TO THE
CHRISTIAN READER.

GRACE AND PEACE BE MULTIPLIED; WITH PROFIT BY THIS FOLLOWING
NARRATION.

GENTLE READER,

I HAVE for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate successors of those that have had so large experience of those many memorable and signal demonstrations of God's goodness, viz. the first beginners of this plantation in New England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf; having so many inducements thereunto, not only otherwise, but so plentifully in the sacred Scriptures, that so, what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, showing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord. Psal. lxxviii. 3, 4. That especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen, may remember his marvellous works (Psal. cv. 5, 6) in the beginning and progress of the planting of New England, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth; how that God brought a vine into this wilderness; that he cast out the heathen and planted it; that he made room for it, and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land; so that it hath sent forth its boughs to the sea and its branches to the river. Psal. lxxx. 8, 9. And not only so, but also that He hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation, and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance, (Exod. xv. 13,) in respect of precious gospel enjoyments. So that we may not

only look back to former experiences of God's goodness to our predecessors,* (though many years before,) and so have our faith strengthened in the mercies of God for our times; that so the church being one numerical body, might not only even for the time he spake with us in our forefathers, (Hos. xii. 4,) by many gracious manifestations of his glorious attributes, wisdom, goodness, and truth, improved for their good, but also rejoice in present enjoyments of both outward and spiritual mercies, as fruits of their prayers, tears, travels, and labors; that as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rays of glory may reach the names of those blessed saints that were the main instruments of the beginning of this happy enterprise.

So then, gentle Reader, thou mayest take notice, that the main ends of publishing this small history, is, that God may have his due praise, his servants, the instruments, have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work, in the relation of the first planting of New England. Which ends, if attained, will be great cause of rejoicing to the publisher thereof, if God give him life and opportunity to take notice thereof.

The method I have observed, is (as I could) in some measure answerable to the ends aforementioned, in inserting some acknowledgment of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth upon special occasions, with allusion to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some special instruments, and such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, so far as my intelligence would reach; and especially in a faithful commemorizing, and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them; bringing them through a sea of troubles; preserving and protecting them from, and in those dangers that attended them in their low estate, when they were strangers in the land; and making this howling wilderness a chamber of rest, safety, and pleasantness, whilst the storms of his

* Psal. lxvi. 6.

displeasure have not only tossed, but endangered the overwhelming of great states and kingdoms, and hath now made it to us a fruitful land, sowed it with the seed of man and beast; but especially in giving us so long a peace, together with the gospel of peace, and so great a freedom in our civil and religious enjoyments; and also in giving us hopes that we may be instruments in his hands, not only of enlarging of our prince's dominions, but to enlarge the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, in the conversion of the poor blind natives.

And now, courteous Reader, that I may not hold thee too long in the porch, I only crave of thee to read this following discourse with a single eye, and with the same ends as I had in penning it. Let not the smallness of our beginnings, nor weakness of instruments, make the thing seem little, or the work despicable; but on the contrary, let the greater praise be rendered unto God, who hath effected great things by small means. Let not the harshness of my style, prejudice thy taste or appetite to the dish I present thee with. Accept it as freely as I give it. Carp not at what thou dost not approve, but use it as a remembrance of the Lord's goodness, to engage to true thankfulness and obedience; so may it be a help to thee in thy journey through the wilderness of this world, to that eternal rest which is only to be found in the heavenly Canaan, which is the earnest desire of

Thy Christian friend,

NATHANIEL MORTON.



NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL:

OR

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF THE
PROVIDENCE OF GOD, MANIFESTED TO THE PLANTERS
OF NEW ENGLAND, IN AMERICA.

AND FIRST, OF THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PLANTATION IN N. E.,

CALLED

NEW PLIMOUTH.

It is the usual manner of the dispensation of the majesty of heaven, to work wonderfully by weak means for the effectuating of great things, to the intent that he may have the more glory to himself. Many instances hereof might be produced, both out of the sacred Scriptures, and common experience; and amongst many others of this kind, the late happy and memorable enterprise of the planting of that part of America called New England, deserveth to be commemorized to future posterity.

In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation, in the north of England, being studious of reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions, and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of divine institutions, they entered into covenant to walk with God, and one with another,

in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the word of God.* But finding by experience they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their native country, without offence to others that were differently minded, they took up thoughts of removing themselves and their families into the Netherlands, which accordingly they endeavored to accomplish, but met with great hindrance; yet after some time, the good hand of God removing obstructions, they obtained their desires; arriving in Holland, they settled themselves in the city of Leyden, in the year 1610, and there they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God, living peaceably amongst themselves, and being courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers, having for their pastor Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit, pious and studying of the truth, largely accomplished with suitable gifts and qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ; having also a fellow helper with him in the eldership, Mr. William Brewster, a man of approved piety, gravity, and integrity, very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office.

But notwithstanding their amiable and comfortable carrying on (as hath been said) although the church of Christ on earth in Holy Writ is sometimes called heaven; yet there is always, in their most perfect state here in this lower world, very much wanting as to absolute and perfect happiness,

* Gov. Bradford's History takes no notice of the year of this Federal Incorporation, which Secretary Morton here places in 1602. Prince supposes Morton had the account either from some other writings of Gov. Bradford, the journals of Gov. Winslow, or from oral conference with them, or other of the first planters, with some of whom he was contemporary.

And these are the Christian people who were the founders of the Plymouth church and colony; who seem to be some of the first in England, that were brave enough to improve the liberty wherewith the divine Author of our religion has made us free, and observe his institutions as their only rule in church order, discipline, and worship; for which they dearly suffered, and left their native country, and who laid the first foundations for the New England settlements.

which is only reserved for the time and place of the full enjoyment of celestial glory; for, although this church was at peace, and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into America, with common consent. The proposition of removing thither being set on foot, and prosecuted by the elders upon just and weighty grounds; for although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their church liberties under the States, yet they foresaw that Holland would be no place for their church and posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to find abroad; and that for these reasons following, which I shall recite as received from themselves.

First. Because themselves were of a different language from the Dutch where they lived, and were settled in their way, insomuch that in ten years time, whilst their church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's day as a sabbath, or any other thing amiss among them.

Secondly. Because their countrymen, who came over to join with them, by reason of the hardness of the country, soon spent their estates, and were then forced either to return back to England, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly. That many of their children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their parents' burdens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that although their spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth, and the vigor of nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many by these occasions and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the destruction of their

souls, to the great grief of their parents, and the dishonor of God; and that the place being of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their neighbors.

Fourthly. That their posterity would in few generations become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation; they being desirous rather to enlarge his Majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural prince.

Fifthly and lastly. And which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto for the propagating and advancement of the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world, yea, although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a work.*

These and such like were the true reasons of their removal, and not as some of their adversaries did, upon the rumor thereof, cast out slanders against them; as if the state were weary of them, and had rather driven them out, (as heathen histories have feigned of Moses and the Israelites when they went out of Egypt,) than that it was their own free choice and motion.

I will therefore mention a particular or two, to evince the contrary.

And first. Although some of them were low in their estates, yet the Dutch observing that they were diligent, faithful, and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custom.

Again, secondly, the magistrates of the city of Leyden where they lived, about the time of their coming away, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in reproof of the Walloons, who were of the French church in the city: These English (said they) have lived

* This hath been graciously answered since, by moving the hearts of many of his servants to be very instrumental in this work with some good success, and hopes of further blessing in that respect. — M.

now amongst us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against them, or any of them, but your strifes and quarrels are continual.

The reasons of their removal above named being debated first in private, and thought weighty, were afterwards propounded in public; and after solemn days of humiliation observed both in public and private,* it was agreed, that part of the church should go before their brethren into America, to prepare for the rest; and if in case the major part of the church did choose to go over with the first, then the pastor to go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he was then to stay with them.

They having employed sundry agents to treat with several merchants in England, who adventured some considerable sums in a way of valuation to such as went personally on in the voyage; the articles of agreement about the premises

* They first keep a day of solemn prayer, Mr. Robinson preaching a very suitable sermon, from 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4; strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions. — *New Eng. Chron.* p. 155.

The fasts and feasts of the Episcopal Church had been cast off by Mr. Robinson from the first, and he and his church observed such days only when the dispensations of Divine Providence seemed to indicate their propriety. The church at Leyden observed no holidays, except fasts and thanksgivings, and the Sabbath. They held several seasons of fasting and prayer, preparatory to their great enterprise, within a few months of leaving Holland. And when they arrived at Plymouth, they observed such seasons as suited to benefit themselves and their posterity.

The magistrates of Plymouth officially ordered such days to be kept, as early as 1623; and in 1637 an ordinance was passed, "that it be in the power of the governor and assistants to *command* solemn days of humiliation, and also for thanksgiving, as occasion shall be offered." The deputies sometimes acted with the governor in designating such days. In 1682, servile work and sports were prohibited on these days, under the same penalty as breach of Sabbath. This was continued as long as Plymouth was a separate colony. On the settlement of the ministry at Salem, Gov. Endicott ordered a fast, as was done on a like occasion at Charlestown. The magistrates of Boston ordered a fast in 1634, and continued the exercise of that authority till 1692, after which these celebrations were ordered many times, with the concurrence of the representatives. — *Col. Christian Antiquities.*

Many occasional fasts have been appointed and kept with great solemnity by the church at Plymouth, as appears from their records.

being fully concluded with the said merchants, and sundry difficulties and obstructions removed, having also obtained letters patent for the northern parts of Virginia, of King James of famous memory,* all things were got ready and provided, a small ship was bought and fitted out in Holland, of about sixty tons, called the Speedwell, as to serve to transport some of them over, so also to stay in the country, and attend upon fishing, and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony, when they came thither. Another ship was hired at London, of burden about nine score, called the Mayflower, and all other things got in readiness; so being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of humiliation, the pastor teaching a part of the day very profitably, and suitably to the present occasion.† The rest of the time was spent in pouring out of prayers unto the Lord, with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town called Delft Haven,‡ where the ship lay ready to receive them, so they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place above eleven years; but they knew that they were pilgrims and strangers here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country,

* Robert Cushman and John Carver were their first agents, in 1617, to the Virginia Company, and to obtain security from the king for religious freedom in their proposed settlement. In February, 1619, Mr. Cushman and Mr. Bradford were despatched on the same business. After long attendance they obtained a patent, and returned to Leyden in the autumn of that year; but this patent was never used. King James, by patent makes a division of the country into two colonies; the southern between 34 and 41 degrees north, he grants to the London Company; the northern between 38 and 45 degrees north, he grants to the Plymouth Company. The Leyden agents negotiated with the London Company. — *New Eng. Chron.* p. 112.

† The text of Scripture was Ezra viii. 21. — M.

‡ This was in June or July, 1620. From Leyden to Delft Haven was twenty-four miles, the Delft being eight miles from the port. It seems their brethren went with them to that place, and the final separation there was very painful. "A flood of tears was poured out, and they were not able to speak to one another for the abundance of sorrow to part." — *Chr. Pil.* 384.

where God hath prepared for them a city, Heb. xi. 16, and therein quieted their spirits.

When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair, they went on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs, and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each others' heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the Key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was, to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away, that were thus loth to depart, their Reverend Pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessing; and then with mutual embraces, and many tears, they took their leave one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them. Thus hoisting sail with a prosperous gale of wind, they came in a short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, being ready with all the rest of their company, meeting each other with a joyful welcome and mutual congratulation.

At their parting, their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, wrote a letter to the whole company, which I thought meet here to insert, being so fruitful in itself, and suitable to their occasions.

LOVING CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

I do heartily, and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longing after you, though I be constrained for awhile to be bodily absent from you: I say constrained; God know-

ing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myself, with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly; yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation to them that run well already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to both a narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same, to be swallowed up in one danger or other. Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. Wo be to the world for offences, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, that offences come, yet wo unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Math. xviii. 7, and if offences in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix. 15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither the honor of God, nor love of man is thought worthy to be

regarded? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving of offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others; for how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences? As the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties; or lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. vii. 1-3, as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this touchy humor. But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way; as first, there are many of you strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking offence causelessly or easily at men's doings, be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself? Which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which, we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. A further thing there is carefully to be provided for, namely, that with your common employments, you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper

advantage, and all singularly affected every manner of way. Let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God (which you are, and are to be) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; not being like the foolish multitude, who more honor the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of God. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how mean persons soever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend to your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth and sea, and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all

his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways as inwardly by his spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that you, and we also for and with you may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfeigned well willer to your happy success in this hopeful voyage.*

JOHN ROBINSON.

Upon the receipt of this letter, the company were called together; and it was publicly read amongst them, which had good acceptance with all, and after fruit with many.

OF THE TROUBLES THAT BEFEL THE FIRST PLANTERS UPON THE COAST OF ENGLAND, AND IN THEIR VOYAGE IN COMING OVER INTO NEW ENGLAND, AND THEIR ARRIVAL AT CAPE COD, ALIAS CAPE JAMES.

ALL things being got ready, and every business despatched, they ordered and distributed their company for either ship (as they conceived for the best) and chose a governor, and two or three assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of the provision, and such like affairs; all which was not only with the liking of the masters of the ships, but according to their desires; which being done, they set sail from Southampton the fifth of August, 1620. But alas, the best enterprises meet oftentimes with many discouragements; for they had not sailed far, before Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leaky, he durst not put further to sea; on which they were forced to put in at Dartmouth, Mr.

* See Appendix for further farewell advice in his sermon, July, 1620, in which, while he exhorts them to take heed what they receive as truth, he would have them receive all truth that yet may be developed by a faithful study of the word of God.

Jones, the master of the biggest ship, likewise putting in there with him, and the said lesser ship was searched and mended, and judged sufficient for the voyage, by the workmen that mended her; on which both the said ships put to sea the second time, but they had not sailed above an hundred leagues, ere the said Reynolds again complained of his ship being so leaky, as that he feared he should founder in the sea, if he held on; and then both ships bore up again, and went in at Plimouth; but being there searched again, no great matter appeared, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship. But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was not as yet discerned; the one of them respecting the ship (as afterwards was found), was, that she was over-masted, which, when she came to her trim, in that respect she did well; and made divers profitable and successful voyages. But secondly, and more especially by the deceit of the master and his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in the country; but now fancying dislike, and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves, as afterwards was known, and by some of them confessed; for they apprehended that the greater ship being of force, and in whom most provisions were bestowed, that she would retain enough for herself, whatsoever became of them and the passengers. But so strong was self-love and deceit in this man, as he forgot all duty and former kindness, and dealt thus falsely with them. These things thus falling out, it was resolved by the whole company to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her, and that the other part of the company should proceed in the bigger ship; which when they had ordered matters thereunto, they made another sad parting, the one ship, namely, the lesser, going back for London, and the other, namely, the Mayflower, Mr. Jones being master, proceeding on the intended voyage.

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind;* but after they had enjoyed fair winds for a

* September 6.—*Mourt's Rel.* *Bradford's M. S. History.*

season, they met with many contrary winds and fierce storms, with which their ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky, and one of the main beams of the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them to some fear that she would not be able to perform the voyage; on which the principal of the seamen and passengers had serious consultation what to do, whether to return, or hold on. But the ship proving strong under water, by a screw the said beam was brought into his place again; which being done, and well secured by the carpenter, they resolved to hold on their voyage, and so after many boisterous storms in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at hull many days together; after long beating at sea, they fell in with the land called Cape Cod,* the which being made, and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some little deliberation had amongst themselves with the master of the ship, they tacked about to stand to the southward, to find some place about Hudson's river, (according to their first intentions,) for their habitations: but they had not sailed that course above half a day, before they fell amongst perilous shoals and breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape aforesaid: the next day, by God's providence, they got into the cape harbor. Thus they arrived at Cape Cod, alias Cape James, in November, 1620, and being brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees, and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries.†

* Cape Cod, so called at the first by Capt. Gosnold and his company, Anno, 1602, because they took much of that fish there; and afterwards called Cape James, by Capt. Smith. The point of the cape is called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; and by the French and Dutch, Mallacar, by reason of the perilous shoals. — M.

† They made the land November 9, and anchored in Cape Cod harbor on the 11th; on the same day they landed 15 or 16 men well armed, to procure wood and reconnoitre the place. They found neither house nor person; but laded their boat with juniper (red cedar.) — *Mourt's Rel.*

Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention, as before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, &c., to disappoint them in their going thither.* But God outshoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow; for had they gone to Hudson's river, as before expressed, it had proved very dangerous to them; for although it is a place far more commodious, and the soil more fertile, yet then abounding with a multitude of pernicious savages, whereby they would have been in great peril of their lives, and so the work of transplanting the gospel into these parts much endangered to have been hindered and retarded; but God so disposed, that the place where they afterwards settled was much depopulated by a great mortality amongst the natives, which fell out about two years before their arrival, whereby he made way for the carrying on of his good purpose in promulgating of his gospel as aforesaid.

But before we pass on, let the reader, with me, make a pause, and seriously consider this poor people's present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of God's goodness towards them in their preservation; for being now passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation, they had now no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain or refresh them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succor. The barbarians that Paul the apostle fell amongst in his shipwreck, at the isle Melita, showed him no small kindness, Acts xxviii., but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear),

* Of this plot between the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence. — M.

were readier to fill their sides full of arrows, than otherwise ; and, for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men ? And what multitudes of them there were, they then knew not ; neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes ; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to heaven), they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward object, for summer being ended, all things stand in appearance with a weather-beaten face, and the whole country full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue ; if they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. The master of the ship and his company pressing with speed to look a place for a settlement at some near distance, for the season was such that he would not stir from thence until a safe harbor was discovered by them with their boat ; yea, it was sometimes threatened, that if they would not get a place in time, that they and their goods should be turned on shore, and that the ship would leave them ; the master expressing himself, that provisions spent apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and his company for their return. It is true indeed, that the love and affections of their brethren they left behind them in Holland were cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves ; what could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace ? Ought not, and may not the children of these fathers rightly say, our fathers were Englishmen, which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness ; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever ; yea, let them who have been the redeemed of the Lord, show how

he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor, when they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in; both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them: let them therefore confess before the Lord his loving-kindness, and his wonderful works before the children of men, Psal. cvii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8.*

OF THE FIRST PLANTERS, THEIR COMBINATION, BY ENTERING INTO A BODY POLITIC TOGETHER; WITH THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN DISCOVERY OF A PLACE FOR THEIR SETTLEMENT AND HABITATION.

BEING thus fraudulently dealt with (as you have heard), and brought so far to the northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of their obtaining their intended port; and thereby their patent being made void and useless, as to another place: being at Cape Cod upon the eleventh day of November, 1620, it was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entered into a solemn combination, as a body politic, to submit to such government and governors, laws and ordinances, as should by a general consent, from time to time, be made choice of, and assented unto. The contents whereof followeth.†

In the namè of God, amen. We whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King

* Many attempts had been made to settle this rough and northern country; first by the French, who would fain account it part of Canada, and then by the English, and both from mere secular views. But such a train of crosses accompany the designs of both these nations, that they seem to give it over as not worth the planting, till a pious people of England, not allowed to worship their Maker according to his institutions only, without the mixture of human ceremonies, are spirited to attempt the settlement, that where they might enjoy a worship purely scriptural and leave the same to their posterity.—*New Eng. Chron.* p. 98.

† This was the first foundation of the government of New Plimouth.—M.

James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Dom. 1620.*

* "By this instrument they formed themselves into a proper democracy, and if they had gone no further, perhaps they would have done but little towards preserving order. But one great reason of this covenant seems to have been of a mere moral nature, that they might remove all scruples of inflicting necessary punishments, even capital ones, seeing all had voluntarily subjected themselves to them. They seem cautiously to have preserved as much of their natural liberty as could be consistent with the maintenance of government and order. This was rational, and every thinking man, when he quitted the state of nature, would do the same. Lord Chief-Justice Holt said, in the case of *Blankard v. Galdy*, that in case of an uninhabited country, found out by English subjects, all laws in force in England, are in force there, and the court agreed with him. Until they should agree upon laws suited to their peculiar circumstances, our Plymoutheans resolved to make the laws of England their rule of government; and it seems they differed much in this respect from the Massachusetts colonists, and never established any distinct code or body of laws of their own, but in such cases where the common law and the statutes of England could not well reach and afford them help in emergent difficulties, they added some particular municipal laws of their own, following the advice of Pacuvius to his neighbors of Capua, 'not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree upon better to place in their room.' " — 2 *Hutch.* 409-412.

John Carver,	Edward Tilly,	Digery Priest,
William Bradford,	John Tilly,	Thomas Williams,
Edward Winslow,	Francis Cooke,	Gilbert Winslow,
William Brewster,	Thomas Rogers,	Edmund Margeson,
Isaac Allerton,	Thomas Tinker,	Peter Brown,
Miles Standish,	John Ridgdale,	Richard Bitteridge,
John Alden,	Edward Fuller,	George Soule,
Samuel Fuller,	John Turner,	Richard Clark,
Christopher Martin,	Francis Eaton,	Richard Gardiner,
William Mullins,	James Chilton,	John Allerton,
William White,	John Craxton,	Thomas English,
Richard Warren,	John Billington,	Edward Doten,
John Howland,	Joses Fletcher,	Edward Leister.*
Stephen Hopkins,	John Goodman,	

After this they chose Mr. John Carver, a man godly and

* The following corrected list is from Prince's Annals, p. 172. Morton has given the names in the following order: but their names connected with their titles and families, I take from the list at the end of Gov. Bradford's folio manuscript. Only this I observe that out of modesty he omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.

Those with this mark (*) brought their wives with them; those with this (†), for the present, left them either in Holland or England. Some left behind them *part*, and others *all* their children. Those with this mark (ss) deceased before the end of March.

NAMES.	NO. IN FAMILY.	NAMES.	NO. IN FAMILY.
1. Mr. John Carver,*	8	14. Mr. Stephen Hopkins,*	8 ⁴
2. William Bradford,*	2	15. Edward Tilley,* ss	4
3. Mr. Edward Winslow,*	5	16. John Tilley,* ss	3
4. Mr. William Brewster,*	6	17. Francis Cook,†	2
5. Mr. Isaac Allerton,*	6	18. Thomas Rogers, ss	2
6. Capt. Miles Standish,*	2	19. Thomas Tinker,* ss	3
7. John Alden,	1	20. John Ridgdale,* ss	2
8. Mr. Samuel Fuller,†	2 ¹	21. Edward Fuller,* ss	3
9. Mr. Christopher Martin,* ss	4	22. John Turner,* ss	3
10. Mr. William Mullins,* ss	5	23. Francis Eaton,*	3
11. Mr. William White,* ss	5 ²	24. James Chilton,* ss	3
12. Mr. Richard Warren,†	1	25. John Crackston, ss	2 ⁵
13. John Howland, ³		26. John Billington,*	4

¹ One of these was a servant, who died before their arrival.

² Besides the son born in Cape Cod harbor, named Peregrine.

³ He was of Gov. Carver's family.

⁴ One of these was born at sea, and therefore named Oceanus.

⁵ Mr. Morton calls him Craxton.

well approved amongst them, to be their governor for that year.

Necessity now calling them to look out a place for habitation, as well as the master's and mariners' importunity urging them thereunto; while their carpenter was trimming up of their boat, sixteen of their men tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, which was accepted; and they being well armed, were sent forth on the sixteenth of November, 1620,* and having marched about a mile by the seaside, they espied five Indians, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day sundry miles, but could

NAMES.	NO. IN FAMILY.	NAMES.	NO. IN FAMILY.
27. Moses Fletcher, ss	1 ¹	35. George Soule, ⁴	
28. John Goodman, ss	1	36. Richard Clarke, ss	1
29. Degory Priest, ss	1 ²	37. Richard Gardiner,	1
30. Thomas Williams, ss	1	38. John Allerton, ss	1
31. Gilbert Winslow,	1	39. Thomas English, ss	1
32. Edmund Margeson, ss	1	40. Edward Dorey, ⁵	} ⁶
33. Peter Brown,	1	41. Edward Leicester,	
34. Richard Britterige, ss	1 ³		
			101

So then just 100 who sailed from Plymouth in England, and just as many arrived in Cape Cod harbor.

The following number of deaths occurred during the following winter up to the end of March: in December 6, in January 8, in February 17, in March 13; making 44 in all: of whom were —

Subscribers to the foregoing agreement	21
Dorothy, wife of Gov. Bradford,	} 4
Rose, wife of Capt. Standish,	
Mary, wife of Mr. Allerton,	
Elizabeth, wife of Edward Winslow,	
Women, children, and servants, names not known	19
	44

* Capt. Standish commanded on this expedition; among his associates were William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

1 Mr. Morton seems to mistake in calling him Jose.
2 Mr. Morton calls him Digery.
3 Mr. Morton calls him Bitteridge.
4 He was of Gov. Winslow's family.
5 Mr. Morton seems to mistake in calling him Doten.
6 They were of Mr. Hopkins's family.

not come to speech with them ; so night coming on, they betook themselves to their rendezvous, and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet that night ; and the next morning they followed the Indians' tracks, but could not find them nor their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a pond of fresh water,* where formerly the Indians had planted Indian corn, at which place they saw sundry of their graves ; and proceeding further they found new stubble where Indian corn had been planted the same year ; also they found where lately an house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up and found in them divers fair Indian baskets filled with corn, some whereof was in ears, fair and good, of divers colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before,† of which rarities they took some to carry to their friends on shipboard, like as the Israelites' spies brought from Eshcol some of the good fruits of the land ; but finding little that might make for their encouragement as to situation, they returned, being gladly received by the rest of their company.

After this, their shallop being ready, they set out the second time for a more full discovery of this place, especially a place that seemed to be an opening as they went into the said harbor some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river ; about thirty of them went out on this second

* In Truro.

† The place where the graves were seen is now known by the name of the Great Hollow ; south of the Great Hollow is a hill terminating in a cliff, now called the Hopkins' Cliff, supposed to be the place where they found the baskets of Indian corn, and on that account named Cornhill.

“ The basket was round, and narrow at the top. It held three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle ; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us, and when our shallop came, and if we could find any of the people, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn.” — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. viii. p. 209, 210.

discovery, the master of the ship going with them; but upon the more exact discovery thereof, they found it to be no harbor for ships, but only for boats. There they also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them; but the people ran away and could not be seen. Also there they found more of their corn and beans of various colors; the corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them.* And here is to be noted, a special and a great mercy to this people, that here they got them seed to plant them corn the next year, or otherwise they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any until the season had been past, (as the sequel did manifest,) neither is it likely that they had had this, if the first discovery had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen; but the Lord is never wanting unto those that are his, in their greatest needs. Let his holy name have all the praise.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controverted amongst them what to do, touching their abode and settling there. Some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

1st. Because of the convenience of the harbor for boats, though not for ships.

2d. There was good corn ground ready to their hands, as was seen by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which again would agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

3d. Cape Cod was like to be a place for good fishing, for they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil.

4th. The place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.†

5th, and lastly. The especial reason was, that now the

* About six months after they gave them full satisfaction to their content. — M.

† It has been supposed by some that our ancestors were not fortunate in the selection of their plantation, and that they would have found much better land on the other side of the bay. But this is a mistake, for no part of

heart of the winter and unseasonable weather was come upon them, so as they could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing both men and boat, upon which they would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise; also cold and wet lodging had so tainted their people, as scarce any of them were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long, it would endanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst them. Again, that as yet they had some provisions, but they would quickly be spent, and then they should have nothing to comfort them in their labor and toil that they were like to undergo. At the first it was also conceived, whilst they had competent victuals, that the ship would stay, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let them shift for themselves.

Others again urged to go to Agawam, alias Angawam,* a place about twenty leagues off to the northward, which they had heard to be an excellent harbor for ships, better ground and better fishing.

Massachusetts could be better suited to their condition. Had they settled down upon a hard and heavy, though rich soil, what could they have done with it? They had no plows, nor beasts of the plow, and yet their chief subsistence was to be derived from the ground. The Plymouth lands were free, light, and easy of tillage, but hard enough for poor pilgrims to dig and plant. And there is perhaps no place in New England where Indian corn could have been raised to better advantage with the same labor. The land yielded well, being new and unworn. And for fish, they could scarcely have been better supplied; and the forests were as well supplied with game as elsewhere. Here they were also favored by the Prince of the country. The character of Massasoit was humane, and his friendship sincere. The treaty which he made with them, he faithfully performed all his life long, whereas, in other locations, they might have fallen by savage violence. And, moreover, Divine Providence seems to have opened the door to the pilgrims at Plymouth by removing the native inhabitants, so as to make a place for their settlement there.

For many particulars relative to this expedition contained in Mourt's Relation, but omitted in this narrative, see *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. viii. p. 203-213.

* This was probably Ipswich; although this was the Indian name of part of Wareham, and the village there is still so called.

Secondly. For any thing they knew there might be hard by us a better seat, and it would be a great hinderance to seat where they should remove again.

But to omit many reasons and replies concerning this matter, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angawam. Besides, Robert Coppin, their pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor in the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had once been, and beyond that place they that were to go on discovery, were enjoined not to go.*

The month of November being spent on these affairs, and having much foul weather; on the 6th of December they concluded to send out their shallop again on a third discovery. The names of those that went on this discovery, were Mr. John Carver, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. Richard Warren, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clark, Mr. Coppin, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doten, with the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen; these set sail on Wednesday the sixth of December, 1620, intending to circulate the deep bay of Cape Cod, the weather being very cold, so as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed, notwithstanding that night they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians, and landed about a league off them, (but with some difficulty, by reason of the shoals in that place,) where they tarried that night.

In the morning they divided their company to coast along, some on shore and some in the boat, where they saw the

* About this time Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a son, who was named Peregrine; he was the first of the English that was born in New England, and still surviveth, [A. D. 1669,] and is the Lieutenant of the military company of Marshfield. — M. He died at Marshfield, July 20, 1704, aged 83 years.

Indians had been the day before cutting up a fish like a grampus; and so they ranged up and down all that day; but found no people, nor any place they liked, as fit for their settlement; and that night they on shore met with their boat at a certain creek where they make them a barricado of boughs and logs, for their lodging that night, and, being weary, betook themselves to rest.* The next morning, about five o'clock, (seeking guidance and protection from God by prayer,) and refreshing themselves, in way of preparation, to persist on their intended expedition, some of them carried their arms down to the boat, having laid them up in their coats from the moisture of the weather; but others said they would not carry theirs until they went themselves. But presently all on a sudden, about the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their company being on board, came hastily in, and cried, Indians! Indians! and withal, their arrows came flying amongst them; on which all their men ran with speed to recover their arms; as by God's good providence they did. In the mean time some of those that were ready, discharged two muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot until they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four that had arms there, and defended the barricado which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful,† especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop, to recover their arms; the Indians wheeling about upon them; but some running out with coats of mail, and cuttle-axes in their hands, they soon recovered their arms, and discharged amongst them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly amongst them; he was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, and

* This is thought to be a place called Namskeket. — M.

† "Their note was after this manner, Woach, woach, ha hach woach." — *Hist. Coll.* vol. viii. p. 219.

stood three shot of musket, until one taking full aim at him, made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them;* and so leaving some to keep the shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them, or any way discouraged.†

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and to give them deliverance, and by his special providence so to dispose, that not any one of them was either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. For which salvation and deliverance they rendered solemn thanksgiving unto the Lord.

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for harbor, and therefore hasted to the place the pilot (as aforesaid) told them of, who assured them that there was a good harbor, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours sailing it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer the boat with a couple of oars; but the pilot bid them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbor; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in while they could see, but herewith they brake their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived, and said, Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place

* "We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we had sent to England, by Master Jones; some whereof were headed with brass, others with hart's horn, and others with eagle's claws."—*Hist. Coll.* vol. viii. p. 219.

† This place, on this occasion, was called the First Encounter. — M.

before: and he and the master's mate would have run the boat ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind,* but a lusty seaman, who steered, bid them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away, the which they did with all speed; so he bid them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And although it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all night in safety.† But they knew not this to be an island until the next morning, but were much divided in their minds, some would keep the boat, doubting they might be amongst the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure, but got on shore, and with much difficulty got fire, and so the whole were refreshed, and rested in safety that night. The next day rendering thanks to God for his great deliverance of them, and his continued merciful good providence towards them; and finding this to be an island, it being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the sabbath there.

On the second day of the week following,‡ they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the

* This was between the place called the Gurnet's Nose and Sagaquab by the mouth of Plymouth harbor. — M.

† This was afterwards called Clark's Island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first stepped on shore thereon. — M.

‡ "On Monday we found a very good harbor for our shipping. We marched also into the land and found divers cornfields and little running brooks; a place very good for situation. This harbor is a bay greater than Cape Cod [harbor] compassed with goodly land, and in the bay two fine Islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl and excellent good; and cannot but be fish in their seasons; skate, cod, turbot, and herring we have tasted of; abundance of muscles, the greatest and best we ever saw; crabs and lobsters in their time infinite: it is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. viii. p. 220.

After making the researchest examinations, which have been related, the Pilgrims fixed on Plymouth, called by the natives Patuxet, for their perma-

land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation, at least it was the best that they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned

nent home; and on a day corresponding with the twenty-second day of December, according to the present way of reckoning time, effected a landing, which has ever since been commemorated by their posterity. There were incidents connected with the disembarkation, preserved by tradition, which we cannot detail here, but must refer the curious to the books of the antiquarians. But the "Rock" on which they first planted their feet for permanent settlement, (whether it were Miss Chilton or John Alden who made the first successful leap,) is well ascertained, and will probably never be forgotten. Indeed the sight of it commands an annual pilgrimage as a memento of the faith, patience, inflexible virtue, and persevering labor of "The Forefathers," who, as President Dwight says, "Were inferior to no body of men whose names are recorded in history during the last 1700 years." De Tocqueville says, "This Rock has become an object of veneration in the United States. I have seen bits of it carefully preserved in several towns of the Union. Does not this sufficiently show that all human power and greatness is in the soul of man? Here is a stone which the feet of the outcasts pressed for an instant, and this stone becomes famous; it is treasured by a great nation; its very dust is shared as a relic. And what has become of the gateways of a thousand palaces? who cares for them?"

When the purposes of commerce and navigation called for a location upon the "Rock," the inhabitants of the place removed a considerable part of it, which is now resting in the front of "Pilgrim Hall," with an iron inclosure, bearing the names of the "Pilgrim Fathers of our race." The Hall is built of rough granite, 70 feet by 44, and contains many deposits of the *heirlooms* of the Pilgrims, and other memorials of the olden time, and affords convenient rooms for the annual celebrations. A picture of the landing and full length portraits of the boat's company, and of their friend Samoset, adorns one side of the hall, the gift of the artist, Col. Seargeant.

It is in contemplation to erect a monument to the memory of the Fathers, the expense of which is not to exceed \$100,000, at the place of the original landing, and where the most considerable part of the "Rock" still rests; and generous subscriptions are already made for that purpose. The celebration of the landing on "Forefathers' Day," is not only attended at Plymouth, but at Boston, New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Charleston, Buffalo, Detroit, and perhaps some other places.

We have said the "Rock" is well ascertained. At the commencement of the present century, an aged Deacon of the Plymouth Church was living, who remembered "Elder Founce," the son of a Pilgrim, and who died in 1746, aged ninety-nine years, and who well remembered many of the "First

to their ship with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.*

On the fifteenth of December they weighed anchor, to go to the place they had discovered, and arrived the sixteenth day in the harbor they had formerly discovered, and afterward took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwellings; and on the five and twentieth day of December began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. And after they had provided a place for their goods and common store (which was long in unloading for want of boats, and by reason of foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of divers) they began to build some small cottages for habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government, as the necessity of their present condition did require.† But that which was sad and lamentable, in two or three months' time half their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their incommode condition had brought upon them, so as there

Comers," and knew the "Rock," on which they first landed. When so aged that he could not be abroad, the Elder was informed that the "Rock" was covered, or about to be covered, by the erection of a store and wharf; and he was so affected by the information, that he wept grievously. Out of respect to the feelings of the Elder, and perhaps veneration for the place, the "Rock" was not covered. The writer of this note had these facts of the Deacon himself, and they are also substantially so related by Dr. Holmes. — *Annals*, vol. i. p. 168.

* December 4, dies Edward Thomson, servant of Mr. White. The first that dies since their arrival. December 6, dies Jasper, a boy of Mr. Carver's. December 7, Dorothy, wife of Mr. William Bradford; she fell from the ship and was drowned, while her husband was absent on this exploring expedition. — *New Eng. Chron.* 165.

† Here, as in subsequent parts of the Memorial, the inquisitive reader will desire to see a more extended and full account of the daily employments of the Pilgrims, we refer him to the Appendix, where we have extracted from Prince's Chronology and Bradford's History all such matter as may be needful to give information additional to what is contained in the Memorial.

died, sometimes two, sometimes three, on a day, in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. Amongst others in the time fore named, died Mr. William Mullins, a man pious and well deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward estate; and had it been the will of God that he had survived, might have proved an useful instrument in his place, with several others who deceased in this great and common affliction, whom I might take notice of to the like effect. Of those that did survive in this time of distress and calamity that was upon them, there was sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who (to their great commendation be it spoken) spared no pains night nor day to be helpful to the rest, not shunning to do very mean services to help the weak and impotent.* In which sickness the seamen shared also deeply, and many died, to about the one half of them before they went away. Thus being but few, and very weak, this was an opportunity for the savages to have made a prey of them, who were wont to be most cruel and treacherous people in all these parts, even like lions; but to them they were as lambs, God striking a dread in their hearts, so that they received no harm from them. The Lord also so disposed, as aforesaid, much to waste them by a great mortality, together with which were their own civil dissensions, and bloody wars, so as the twentieth person was scarce left alive when these people arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that mortality in the place where they seated, by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above ground; whereby it appeared that the living of them were not able to bury their dead. Some of the ancient Indians, that are surviving at the writing hereof, do affirm, that about some two or three years before the first English arrived here, they saw a blazing star, or comet † which was a forerunner of this sad mortality, for

* Two of the seven, says Mr. Bradford, were Mr. Brewster, their reverend elder, and Mr. Standish, their captain. — *New Eng. Chron.*

† This seemeth to be the same that was seen about that time in Europe. — M.

soon after it came upon them in extremity.* Thus God made way for his people, by removing the heathen, and planting them in the land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these blind savages, by being a means, at least stepping-stones, for others to come and preach the gospel among them; of which afterwards in its more proper place. But to return,

The Indians, after their arrival, would show themselves afar off, but when they endeavored to come near them they would

* In 1617 the country of the Pawkunnawkuts was nearly depopulated by the great plague. It is certainly remarkable that the Pilgrims should have selected a location which was made vacant for them by the hand of Providence, while unaware of the fact. The fact itself is also remarkable, as it opened a way for colonizing the country, which we cannot suppose could have been done by so small a number of persons, if the immediate region had been filled with savages. But the wasting sickness among them can hardly be connected with the comet which appeared in 1618; the sickness was three or four years at least before the arrival of the Pilgrims. The pestilence was not extensive; it was not on the Cape, nor far into Massachusetts, and scarcely reached the interior. As to the suggestion of a special providence in this sickness, Hutchinson says, "Should we not go into the contrary extreme if we were to take no notice of the extinction of this people in all parts of the continent? In some, the English have made use of means the most likely to have prevented it, but all to no purpose. They waste, they moulder away, they disappear."

The poets knew how to use this superstition of the baneful influence of comets to advantage:—

"——— Like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th' arctic sky, and from its horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war."

MILTON.

"Comets, importing change of time and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky."

SHAKESPEARE.

Mr. Oliver was the first among us who seems to have viewed the "mysterious strangers" with a true philosophical spirit and ken: "they are now received with a cordial welcome, and are looked upon with calm complacency."—*Trea. Com.*

run away. But about the sixteenth of March, 1621, a certain Indian called Samoset, came boldly among them and spoke to them in broken English, which yet they could well understand, at which they marvelled; but at length they understood that he belonged to the eastern parts of the country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the English fishermen, and could name sundry of them, from whom he learned his language. He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the eastern parts, as also of the people here; of their names, number, and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. He told them also of another Indian called Squanto, alias Tisquantum, one of this place, who had been in England, and could speak better English than himself: and after courteous entertainment of him he was dismissed. Afterwards he came again with some other natives, and told them of the coming of the great Sachem, named Massasoiet,* who (about four or five days

* Gov. Winslow spells his name Massassowat; he resided at Sowams, or Sowampset, at the confluence of two rivers in Rehoboth or Swazey, though occasionally at Mont Haup, or Mount Hope, the principal residence of his son Phillip. The region round about was called Pawcawnawkit, or Pacanoiket, and the Sachemdom by that name included the whole of what is now the Old Colony. He was called King (or Sachem) of the Wompanaogs, the first being the name of the territory and the last the people. The first we learn of him is in 1619, when Capt. Dermer met him at Namasket, and delivered to him the kidnapped Tisquantum. We next find him with the pilgrims, and the manner of the meeting is specially described in the Appendix, from Prince. The treaty which he made with them, mentioned in the text, was faithfully kept, and he was their fast friend while he lived. We have an account of two visits at his place, first by Gov. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, and afterwards by Gov. Winslow and Mr. Hampden, of which some account may be given in the Appendix. It seems that, in about ten years he changed his name to Woosamequen, and in 1639 this treaty, or league, was renewed by his special desire, his son Wamsutta, or Moosanam (the heir apparent), being a party; he was afterwards named Alexander. Governor Hutchinson says, Massasoit died about the year 1656, and Wamsutta succeeded him in the Sachemdom. As he is said to have been "in his best years" when the treaty was made, he must have been full 70 years of age when he died. We have the authority of Mr. Callender for the place of this Sachem's residence, (p. 30).

after) came, with the chief of his friends and other attendants, with the aforesaid Squanto, with whom (after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him) they made a league of peace with him, which continued with him and his successors to the time of the writing hereof. The terms and conditions of the said league are as followeth ;*

I. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

II. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

III. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

IV. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

V. That he should send to his neighbor confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

VI. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (which were then bows and arrows) behind them.

VII. Lastly. That so doing their sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his friend and ally.

All which he liked well, and withal at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs for ever.

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams, about forty miles distant from Plimouth, but Squanto † con-

* Of this see more in the year 1639. — M.

† He is variously called Squanto, Squantum, and Tisquantum. There is some disagreement in the narratives of the contemporary writers in respect to this chief, which shows either that some of them are in error, or that there were two of the same name, — one carried away by Weymouth, and the other by Hunt. From a critical examination of the accounts, it is believed there was but one, and that he was carried away by Weymouth, as Sir Ferdinand

tinued with them, and was their interpreter, and proved a special instrument sent of God for their good, beyond expectation; he directed them in planting their corn, where to take their fish, and to procure their commodities; and also was their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them until his death. He was a native of this place where Plimouth is, and scarce any left besides himself. He was carried away (with divers others) by one named Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain, but he got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London,* and employed to Newfoundland and other parts; and at last brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery and other designs in these parts; of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a book set forth, anno 1622, by the president and council for New England, that he made the peace between the savages of those parts and the English, of which this plantation (as it is intimated) had the benefit: and what a peace it was may appear from what befell him and his men.

Gorges relates. He says, "It so pleased our great God that Waymouth on his return to England, came into the harbor of Plymouth, where I then commanded. Three of whose natives, namely, Manida, Skettwarroes, and Tisquantum, I seized upon. They were all of one nation, but of several parts and several families." It is impossible that Sir Ferdinando should have been mistaken in the names of those he received from Waymouth. The names of those carried off by Hunt are not given, or but few of them, nor were they kidnapped until nine years after Waymouth's voyage. It is therefore possible that *Squantum* having returned home from the service of Gorges, went again to England with some other person, or perhaps even with Hunt. But we are inclined to think there was but one of the name, and his being carried away an error of inadvertence.

Squanto died December, 1622, while acting as pilot for the colonists. He desired the Governor to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God. To him the Pilgrims were greatly indebted, though he often, through shortsightedness, gave them, as well as himself, great trouble, as will appear in the lives of Massasoit and Hobamak.—*Drake's Hist. of the Indians*, p. 71-79.

* This merchant's name was Mr. Slaney.—M.

This Mr. Dermer was here the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him, bearing date June 30, anno 1620, and they arrived in the country in the month of November following, so that there was but four months difference. In which relation to his honored friend, he hath these passages of this very place where New Plimouth is; "I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence Squanto, or Tisquantum, was taken away, which in Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth,* and I would that Plimouth had the like commodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of fifty persons, or upwards; otherwise at Charlton, because there the savages are less to be feared. The Pocanaketts, which live to the west of Plimouth, bear an inveterate malignity to the English, and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Panobskut. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made great slaughter of them with their murderers and small shot, when (as they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them: for which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namassaket,† had not he entreated hard for me. The soil of the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of divers sorts; for Patuket‡ is an heavy but strong soil; Nauset§ and Satuket|| are for the most part a blackish and deep mould, much like that where groweth

* This name of Plimouth was so called not only for the reason here named, but also because Plimouth in O. E. was the last town they left in their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there. — M.

† This Indian settlement was in Middleborough, about 15 miles from Plymouth.

‡ This description of the soil could apply to only small parts of Plymouth, in low places.

§ Nauset — Eastham.

|| Satuket, or Sawkatucket, the west part of Brewster.

the best tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of the bay is great store of cod, bass, or mullet, etc." And above all he commends Pacannaket "for the richest soil, and much open ground, likely and fit for English grain. Massachusetts is about nine leagues from Plimouth, and situate in the midst. Between both is many islands and peninsulas, very fertile for the most part." With sundry such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known than they were to him.

This gentleman was taken prisoner by the Indians at Manamomet, (a place not far from Plimouth, now well known,) he gave them what they demanded for his liberty ; but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still, and endeavored to kill some of his men, but he was freed by seizing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a canoe load of corn: of which see Purch. lib. 9, fol. 1778. But this was anno 1619.

After the writing of the former relation, he came to the isle Capewak,* which lieth south from this place, in the way to Virginia, and the aforesaid Squanto with him ; where he going on shore amongst the Indians to trade as he used to do, was assaulted and betrayed by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the boat ; but himself got on board very sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy of the boat, had not his man rescued him with a sword, and so they got him away, and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died, whether of his wounds, or the diseases of the country, or both, is uncertain. By all which it may appear how far this people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them.

These things were partly the reasons why the Indians kept aloof, as aforesaid, and that it was so long ere they could come to speech with any of them. Another reason (as afterwards themselves made known) was, how that about three years before these first planters arrived, a certain French ship

* Now called Martin's Vineyard.

was cast away at Cape Cod, but the men got on shore, and saved their lives, and much of their victuals and other goods; but afterwards the Indians heard of it, and gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them until they got advantage, and killed them all but three or four, which they kept and sent from one Sachem to another to make sport with them, and used them worse than slaves; and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it. Two of the said French so used were redeemed by the aforesaid Mr. Dermer, the other died amongst the Indians; and as the Indians have reported, one of them lived amongst them until he was able to discourse with them, and told them, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did, but should be clothed, etc. But they derided him and said, that they were so many that God could not kill them. His answer was, that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not.* Shortly after his death came the plague, a disease they never heard of before, and mightily swept them away, and left them as dung upon the earth (as you have heard). Not long after came the English to New Plimouth, and then several of the Indians began to mind the Frenchman's words, thinking him to be more than an ordinary man. And as the first part of his speech had proved true, they began to be apprehensive of the latter, namely, the loss of their country. This relation the first planters at Plimouth, after they came to be acquainted with them, several of them heard from divers of their ancient and gravest Indians, and have often seen the place where the French were surprised and taken; which place beareth the name of Frenchman's Point with many to this day. This relation, for the verity thereof, being also very observable, was thought meet to be here inserted, and let me add a word hereunto; that it is very observable likewise, that God hath very evidently made way for

* A memorable passage of God's punishing of the heathen for their notorious blasphemy, and other sins. — M.

the English, by sweeping away the natives by some great mortalities ; as first, by the plague here in Plimouth jurisdiction ; secondly by the smallpox in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, a very considerable people a little before the English came into the country ; as also at Connecticut, very full of Indians a little before the English went into those parts ; and then the Pequots by the sword of the English (as will appear in its place) and the country now mostly possessed by the English. I might also mention several places in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, peopled with considerable companies of proper able men, since the first planters thereof came over, even in our sight, before they were in a capacity to improve any of their land, that have by the same hand of Providence been cut off, and so their land even cleared for them, and now so replenished with their posterity, that places are too strait for them. By little and little (saith God of old to his people) will I drive them out from before thee, till thou be increased, and inherit the land, Exod. xxiii. 28-30.

But before I pass on, let the reader take notice of a very remarkable particular, which was made known to the planters at Plimouth, some short space after their arrival, that the Indians, before they came to the English to make friendship with them, they got all the powaws in the country, who, for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner did curse and execrate them with their conjurations ; which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp.* But to return.

The spring being now come, it pleased God that the mortality which had taken away so many of the first planters at Plimouth ceased, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which was, as it were, new life put into them ; they having borne this affliction with much patience, being upheld by the Lord. And thus we are come unto the twenty-fifth of March, 1621.†

* Behold how Satan labored to hinder the gospel from coming into New England. — M.

† See Prince, Chron. in Appendix, for the time.

1621.*

THIS year several of the Indian Sachems (besides Massasoiet, before named) came into the government of New Plimouth, and acknowledged themselves to be loyal subjects of our sovereign Lord King James, and subscribed unto a writing to that purpose with their own hands; the tenor of which said writing followeth, with their names annexed thereunto. It being conceived, by some that are judicious, that it may be of use in succeeding times, I thought meet here to insert it.

September 13, Anno Dom. 1621.

Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the royal subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth:—

Ohquamehud,
Cawnacone,
Obbatinnua,

Nattawahunt,
Caunbatant,
Chikkatabak,

Quadaquina,
Huttmoiden,
Apannow.

NOW FOLLOWETH SEVERAL PASSAGES OF THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD TO, AND THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF, THE FIRST PLANTERS AT PLIMOUTH, APPERTAINING TO THE YEAR 1621.

THEY now began to hasten the ship away, which tarried so long by reason of the necessity and danger that lay on them, because so many died both of themselves and the ship's company likewise; by which they became so few, as the master durst not put to sea until those that lived recovered of their sickness and the winter over.

* See in Appendix, Prince Chronology for this year.

The spring of this year they planted their first corn in New England, being instructed in the manner thereof by the fore-named Squanto; they likewise sowed some English grain with little success, by reason partly of the badness of the seed, and lateness of the season, or some other defect not then discerned.

In the month of April, in this year, their governor, Mr. John Carver, fell sick, and within a few days after died, whose death was much lamented, and caused great heaviness amongst them, and there was indeed great cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with the discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms. This worthy gentleman was one of singular piety, and rare for humility, as appeared by his great condescendency, when as this poor people were in great sickness and weakness, he shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea the meanest of them. He bare a share likewise of their labor in his own person, accordingly as their extreme necessity required; who being one also of a considerable estate, spent the main part of it in this enterprise, and from first to last approved himself not only as their agent in the first transacting of things, but also all along to the period of his life, to be a pious, faithful, and very beneficial instrument, and now is reaping the fruit of his labor with the Lord.*

His wife, who was also a gracious woman, lived not six weeks after him; she being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious an husband, likewise died.

In some short distance of time after this, Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governor of Plimouth in his stead, being not

* Gov. Carver was taken sick in the field, while they were engaged in their planting. Many able pens have been employed in portraying his character. One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years; and about the middle of the last century (1775) that descendant, with his son, grandson, and great-grandson, were all at the same time at work, in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house at Marshfield. — *Belknap's Amer. Biog.* ii. 216.

as yet well recovered of his weakness, having been at the point of death, and Mr. Isaac Allerton likewise was chosen to be his assistant.

The second of July in this year they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, unto the great Sachem Massasoit aforesaid, with a gratuity, to congratulate with him and to view his country, and likewise to take notice of what strength of men he had, etc., having Squanto for their guide, who found his place to be about forty miles from New Plimouth, his people few in comparison of what they had been, by reason of the mortality amongst the Indians forementioned. These brought word, upon their return, of the Narragansets, a people that lived on the other side of that great bay, which are a people strong and many in number, living compact together, and had not at all been touched with the wasting plague before specified. They also brought a full intelligence in reference unto the particulars they were sent about, and so returned in safety.

Thus their peace being well established with the natives about them, which was much furthered by an Indian named Hobamak,* who came to live amongst the English, he being a proper lusty young man, and one that was in account amongst the Indians in those parts for his valor, continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. He, with the said Squanto, being sent amongst the Indians about business for the English, were surprised by an Indian Sachem named Corbitant, who was no friend to the English; he met with him at Namassaket, and began to quarrel with him, and offered to stab Hobamak, who, being a strong man, soon cleared himself of him; and with speed came and gave intelligence to the Governor of Plimouth, saying he feared that Squanto was slain, for they were both threatened, and for no other cause, but that they were friends to the English, and

* Hobamak was a Chief Captain of Massasoit; he continued to live with the English till his death, and gave some good hopes that his soul went to rest. — *N. E. First Fruits.*

serviceable to them. On which it was thought meet to vindicate their messengers, and not to suffer them to be thus wronged, and it was concluded to send some men to Namasaket well armed, and to fall upon them; whereupon fourteen men being well prepared, were sent, under the conduct of Capt. Miles Standish, who, when they came thither, beset the house, and the said captain entered into the same to look for the said Corbitant, but he was fled, and so they missed of him; but understood that Squanto was alive; so they withheld and did no hurt, save three of the natives, pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded; which they brought home to their town with them, and were dressed by their surgeon and cured.

After this they had many congratulations from divers Sachems, and much firmer peace, yea those of the isle of Capewak sent to make friendship with them, and this Corbitant himself used the mediation of Massasoit to make his peace, but was shy to come near them a long time after.

After this, on the eighteenth of September, they sent out their boat to the Massachusetts with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, to discover and view that bay, and to trade with the natives; and found kind entertainment with them, who expressed themselves to be much afraid of the Tarateens, a people in the eastern part of New England, which used to come in harvest time and take away their corn, and many times kill some of their people; who after they had accomplished their business, returned in safety, and made report of the place, wishing they had been there seated. But the Lord, who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations, had appointed it for another end and use.

And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to bless their outgoings and incomings; for which let his holy name have the praise for ever.

Being now well recovered in respect of health (as hath been said), they began to fit up their buildings against winter, and received in their first harvest, and had great plenty of fowl and fish, to their great refreshing.

About the ninth of November came in a small ship, to

them unexpected,* in which came Mr. Robert Cushman, who was both a godly man, and an active and faithful agent, and useful instrument in the common interest of this first design; and there came with him in that ship thirty-five persons, to remain and live in the plantation; which did not a little rejoice the first planters. And these when they came on shore, and found all well, and saw plenty of provisions beyond their expectation, were also satisfied and no less glad; for coming in at Cape Cod, before they came to Plimouth, and seeing nothing there but a barren place, they then began to think what should become of them, if the people were dead, or cut off by the Indians; and began to consult upon some passages, which some of the seamen had cast out, to take the sails from the yards, lest the ship should get away and leave them; but the master hearing thereof, gave them good words, and told them, if any thing but well should have befallen the people at Plimouth, he hoped he had provisions enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had any, they should have their part, which gave them good satisfaction.

This ship stayed at Plimouth not above fourteen days, and returned; and soon after her departure, the people called the Narragansets, aforesaid, sent messengers unto the plantation, with a bundle of arrows, tied together with a snake's skin, which their interpreter Squanto told them was a threatening, and a challenge; upon which the governor of Plimouth sent them a rough answer, namely, that if they loved war rather than peace, they might begin when they would, they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided; and by another messenger sent the snake's skin back again, with bullets in it, but they would not receive it, but sent it back again. It is probable the reason of this their message to the English was their own ambition, who, since the death of so many Indians, thought to domineer and lord it over the rest, and conceived the English

* This ship was called the *Fortune*, in which came no provisions, which was one cause of a great famine that befel the plantation of New Plimouth soon after. — M.

would be a bar in the way, and saw that Massasoit took shelter already under their wings. But this made the English more carefully to look to themselves, so they agreed to close their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when need required, there was also warding in the daytime; and the company was, by the governor and captain's advice, divided into four squadrons, and every one had their quarter appointed them, unto which they were to repair; and if there should be any cry of fire, a company was appointed for a guard with muskets, whilst others quenched the fire; the same to prevent Indian treachery. And herewith I shall end the passages of this year.

1622.*

At the spring of this year, the English having certified the Indians of the Massachusetts, that they would come again unto them, they accordingly prepared to go thither; but upon some rumors which they heard from Hobamak their friend forenamed, who feared that the Massachusetts were joined with the Narragansets, and might betray them if they were not careful; and intimated also his jealousies of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other Indians, that he was not really cordial to the English in what he pretended, made them cautious. Notwithstanding, they sent out their boat, with ten of their principal men, about the beginning of April, and both Squanto and Hobamak with them, in regard of the jealousy between them; but they had not been gone long, ere that an Indian belonging to Squanto's family came running, seeming to be in great fear, and told them that many of the Narragansets, with Corbitant, (and he thought Massasoit,) was coming against them; at which they betook themselves to their arms, and supposing that the boat was not yet out of call, they caused

* See Prince's Chron. for this year in the Appendix.

a piece of ordnance to be discharged, to call them in again; but this proved otherwise, for no Indians came. After this they went to the Massachusetts, and had good trade, and returned in safety, God be praised.

But by the former passages and things of like nature, they began to see that Squanto sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself; making them believe he could stir up war against them when he would, and make peace for them when he would; yea, he made them believe that the English kept the plague buried in the ground;* and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrify the Indians; and made them more depend on him and seek more to him than to their great sachem Massasoit; which procured him envy, and had like to have cost him his life; for after the discovery of these practices, the said Massasoit sought it both privately and openly; which caused him to stick close to the English, and never after durst go from them until his death. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between Hobamak and him, which made them both carry more squarely; and the governor seemed to countenance the one, and their captain the other; by which they had the better intelligence, and made them both the more diligent.

About the latter end of May they espied a vessel at sea, which at the first they thought to be a Frenchman, but it proved one that belonged to Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant; which came from a ship which he and another had sent out on fishing to a place called Damarel's Cove, in the eastern parts of New England. This boat brought seven men, and some letters, but no provisions to them, of which they were in continual expectation from England, which expectations were frustrated in that behalf; for they never had any supply to any purpose after this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their industry among themselves; for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came with it.

* This was said to be a barrel of gunpowder buried in the ground. — M.

After this the same year, the above-named Mr. Thomas Weston, who had formerly been one of the merchant adventurers to the plantation of New Plimouth (but had now broken off and deserted the general concerns thereof) sent over two ships, the one named the Sparrow,* the other the Charity, on his own particular interest; in the one of them came sixty lusty men, who were to be put on shore at Plimouth, for the ship was to go with other passengers to Virginia; these were courteously entertained (with the seven men forenamed, belonging to the said Weston), at Plimouth aforesaid, until the ship returned from Virginia, which was the most part of that summer; many of them being sick, and all of them destitute of habitation, and unacquainted with this new beginning; at the ship's return from Virginia, by the direction of the said Mr. Weston, their master, or such as he had set over them, they removed into the Massachusetts Bay, he having got a patent for some part there, yet they left all their sick folks at Plimouth, until they were settled and fitted for housing to receive them. These were an unruly company, and no good government over them, and by disorder fell into many wants as afterwards will appear.

But before I pass on, I may not omit the mentioning of a courteous letter that came in the vessel above named, in which the above said seven men came, being directed to the governor of Plimouth, with respect unto the whole plantation, from a captain of a ship at the eastward, who came thither on a fishing voyage; the which for the ingenuity of the man, and his courtesy therein expressed, may not unfitly be here inserted, being inscribed as followeth:—

TO ALL HIS GOOD FRIENDS IN PLIMOUTH,

Friends, countrymen, and neighbors, I salute you, and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord. I make bold with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were inhuman, I can do no less. Bad news doth spread itself too far, yet I will so far inform, that myself with many good friends in the

* According to Prince, the Swan.

south colony of Virginia have received such a blow, that four hundred persons large will not make good our losses. Therefore I do entreat you, although not knowing you, that the old rule which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficient, that is, "Happy is he who other men's harms do make to beware." And now again and again, wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord, all health and happiness in this world, and everlasting peace in the world to come.

I rest yours,

JOHN HUDSTON.

In the same vessel the governor returned a thankful answer, as was meet, and sent a boat of their own with them, which was piloted by them; in which Mr. Edward Winslow was sent to procure what provisions he could of the ship, who was kindly received by the aforesaid gentleman, who not only spared what he could, but wrote to others to do the like; by which means the plantation had a good quantity of provisions.*

This summer they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements; on which fort their ordnance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them to do in their weakness, and times of want; but the danger of the time required it; there being continual rumors of the Indians, and fears of their rising against them, especially the Narragansets; and also the hearing of that great and sad massacre in Virginia above named.†

* Although this was not much amongst them all, yet it was a very seasonable blessing and supply, they being now in a low condition for want of food. — M.

† Here, in the first edition of Morton, is an account of a severe drought, of a fast, and of a thanksgiving. But it seems from Prince that Morton was mistaken in regard to the date of these occurrences, and that they took place the next year. Following Prince therefore, as has Judge Davis in his edition, we transfer two paragraphs that were originally here inserted, to their proper location in 1623.

Now the welcome harvest approached, in the which all had some refreshment, but it arose but to a little in comparison of a whole year's supply; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the husbandry of the Indian corn (having no other), and also their many other employments; but chiefly their weakness for want of food, so as to appearance, famine was like to ensue, if not some way prevented. Markets there was none to go unto, but only the Indians; but they had no trading stuff. But behold now another providence of God; a ship came into the harbor, one Capt. Jones being chief in her, set out by some merchants to discover all the harbors between Cape Cod and Virginia, and to trade along the coast. This ship had store of English beads (which were then good trade), and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together; yet they were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate: they were fain to give after the rate of cent. per cent., if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound. By this means they were fitted again to trade for beaver and other things, and so procured what corn they could.

But here let me take liberty to make a little digression. There was in the ship sent by Mr. Weston forenamed (in which his men came) a gentleman named Mr. John Porey, he had been secretary in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship. After his departure he wrote a letter to the governor of Plimouth, in the postscript whereof he hath these expressions following:—

“To yourself and Mr. Brewster I must humbly acknowledge myself many ways indebted, whose books I would have you think very well bestowed, who esteems them such jewels. My haste would not suffer me to remember, much less to beg Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate work on the five books of Moses; both his and Mr. Robinson's do highly commend the authors, as being most conversant in the Scriptures of all others; and what good who knows it may please God to work by them through my hands, though most unworthy, who find such

high content in them. God have you all in his keeping.
Your unfeigned and firm friend,
August 28, 1622.”

JOHN POREY.

These things I here insert, partly for the honor's sake of the author's memory, which this gentleman doth so ingeniously acknowledge, and also the credit and good that he procured unto the plantation of Plimouth after his return, and that amongst those of no mean rank. But to return.

Mr. Weston's people forenamed, who were now seated in the bay of the Massachusetts, at a place called by the Indians Wesagusquaset,* and by disorder (as it seemed) had made havoc of their provision; they began now to conceive that want would come upon them; and hearing that their neighbors at Plimouth had bought trading stuff, as aforesaid, and intended to trade for corn, they wrote to the governor, and desired that they might join with them, and they would employ their small ship† in this service; and also requested to lend or sell them so much of their trading stuff as their part might come to; which was agreed unto on equal terms; so they went out in the expedition, with an intention to go about Cape Cod to the southward, but meeting with cross winds, and other crosses, went in at Mannomoik,‡ where the aforesaid Squanto, being their guide and interpreter, fell sick, and within a few days died. A little before his death, he desired the governor of Plimouth (who then was there) to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; and bequeathed divers of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss.§ •

Here they got a considerable quantity of corn, and so returned. After these things, John Saunders, who was left chief over Mr. Weston's men at Wesagusquaset, in the month

* Now by the English called Weymouth.— M.

† The Swan.

‡ Chatham.

§ His conduct was generally good, and his services useful to the infant colony.

of February, sent a messenger, showing the great wants they were fallen into, and would have borrowed corn of the Indians, but they would lend him none; and desired advice whether he might take it from them by force to succor his men, until return from the eastward, whither he was now going. But the governor and the rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indians, as might endanger their safety, and all of them might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had wronged the Indians, by stealing their corn, etc., so as the natives were much incensed against them; yea, so base were some of their own company, as they went and told the Indians, that their governor was purposed to come and take their corn by force, which, with other things, made them enter into a conspiracy against the English. And herewith I end the relation of the most remarkable passages of God's providence towards the first planters, which fell out in this year.

1623.

Mr. Weston's people forenamed, notwithstanding all helps they could procure for supply of provisions, fell into great extremity; which was occasioned by their excessive expence while they had it, or could get it; and after they came into want, many sold away their clothes and bed coverings; others were so base as they become servants to the Indians, and would cut them wood, and fetch them water for a cap full of corn; others fell to stealing, both night and day, from the Indians, of which they grievously complained. In the end they came to that misery that some starved and died with hunger; and one, in gathering of shell-fish, was so weak, as he stuck fast in the mud, and was found dead in the place; and most of them left their dwellings, and were scattered up and down in the woods by the water-side, where they could find groundnuts and clams, here six and there ten, by which their carriages they became contemned and scorned of the Indians, insomuch as they began greatly to insult over them in a most

insolent manner, so as if they had set on such victuals as they had gotten to dress it, when it was ready the Indians would come and eat it up; and when night came, when as possibly some of them had a sorry blanket, or such like, to lap themselves in, the Indians would take it, and let the other lie all night in the cold, so as their condition was very lamentable; and in the end they were fain to hang one of their company, whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give the Indians content.

Whilst things went on in this manner with them, the governor and people of Plimouth had notice that the sachem Massasoit, their friend, was sick, and near unto death, and they sent to visit him, and sent him some comfortable things, which gave him content, and was a means of his recovery; upon which occasion he discovered the conspiracy of these Indians, how they were resolved to cut off Mr. Weston's company,* for the continual injuries they had done them, and would now take opportunity of their weakness, and do it; and for that end had conspired with other Indians their neighbors thereabout. And thinking the people here would revenge their death, they therefore thought to do the like by them, therefore [advised] to prevent it, and that speedily, by taking some of the chief of them before it was too late, for he assured them of the truth thereof.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious consideration, and found upon examination, and other evidences to give light thereunto, that the matter was really so, as the said sachem had told them. In the mean time came an † Englishman from the Massachusetts, from the said com-

* The conspiracy, as related to Winslow, was to an alarming extent, embracing tribes in every direction. The Massachusetts Indians were the principals, and had engaged, it was said, those of Nauset, Pamet, Succonet, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agawaywam, and the isle of Capawack to coöperate with them.

† This man's name was Phinchas Pratt, who has penned the particulars of his perilous journey, and some other things relating to this tragedy. — M. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his history.

pany in misery, as hath been above related, with a pack at his back; and although he knew not a foot of the way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued by two Indians, who by God's providence, missed of him by that means; and he related how all things stood with them there, and that he durst stay no longer, for he apprehended by what he observed they would be all slain ere long. This made them make the more haste, and they despatched a boat away with some men, under the conduct of Capt. Standish, who found them in a miserable condition; out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some relief, cut off some of the chief conspirators against them, and according to his order, offered to bring them all to Plimouth, to be there until Mr. Weston came, or some other way should be presented for their help. They thanked him and the rest, but they rather desired that he would help them with some corn, and they would go with their small ship to the eastward, to look out a way for themselves, either to have relief by meeting with Mr. Weston, or if not, to work with the fishermen for their supply, and their passage for England; so they shipped what they had of any worth, and he helped them with as much corn as he could, and saw them out of the bay under sail, and so came home, not taking the worth of a penny of any of them.

This was the end of these that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able, lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plimouth, who had many women and children,* and weak ones; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plimouth, that they would take another course and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to. But a man's way is not in his own power; God can make the weak stand. Let him that thinketh he standeth (in such respect as well as other), take heed lest he fall.*

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen, where he heard of the ruin of his plantation, and

* Here see the effects of pride and vainglory. — M.

got a boat, and with a man or two came to see how things were; but by the way (for want of skill), in a storm, he cast away his boat in the bottom of the bay, between Merrimack and Piscataqua, and hardly escaped with life; and afterwards fell into the hands of the Indians, who pillaged him of all that he had saved from the sea, and stripped him of all his clothes to his shirt. At last he got to Piscataqua, and borrowed a suit of clothes, and got means and came to Plimouth. A strange alteration there was in him, to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertain are all things of this uncertain world.

But to return to the state and condition of the planters at Plimouth, all this while no supply heard of, so they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could; so as they might not languish in misery as formerly they had done, and at the present they did, and it was thought the best way, and accordingly given way unto, that every one should plant corn for his own particular, and in that regard provide for themselves, and, in other respects, continue the general course and way as before; and so they ranged all their youth under some family, and set upon such a course, which had good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much corn was planted.

This course being settled, by that time all their corn was planted, all their victuals was spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence; many times at night not knowing where to have any thing to sustain nature the next day, and so, (as one well observed,) had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world; yet they bear those wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as the most part of two years. Which brings to mind what Peter Martyr writes in his magnifying of the Spaniards: (in his first Decade, p. 208). "They (said he) led a miserable life for five days together, with parched grain of maize only, and that not to satiety;" and then concludes, that "such pains, such labors," he thought "none living, who is not a Spaniard, could have endured."

But alas! those men when they had maize (that is Indian

corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted, not only for five days together, but sometimes for two or three months together, and neither had bread or any kind of corn.

Indeed, in another place in his second Decade, p. 94, he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, where they were fain to eat dogs, toads, and dead men, and so almost all of them died. From these extremities the Lord in his goodness preserved both their lives and healths; let his holy name have the praise. Yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people, that "with their miseries they opened a way to those new lands; and after storms, with what ease, other men came to inhabit in them, in respect to the calamities these men suffered; so as they seemed to go to a bride feast, where all things are provided for them."

They having one boat left, and she none of the best, with a net which they bought, improved them for the taking of bass, which proved a good help to them, and when those failed they were fain all hands to go dig shell-fish out of the sands for their living; in the winter season groundnuts and fowl were the principal of their refreshing, until God sent more settled and suitable supplies, by his blessing upon their industry.*

At length they received some letters from the adventurers, which gave them intelligence of a ship set out to come hither unto Plimouth, named the Paragon. This ship was bought by Mr. John Pierce, and set out on his own charge, upon hopes of great matters; the passengers and goods, the company sent in her, he took in for freight, for which they agreed with him to be delivered here; this was he in whose name their first patent was taken, for this place where Plimouth is, by reason of acquaintance, and some alliance that some of their friends had with him, but his name was only used in trust, but when

* "We begin to set our corn, the setting season being good, till the latter end of May. But by the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent; not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together; yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on Providence." — *Gov. Bradford's MS.*

he saw they were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave them, had obtained favor of the council of New England, he goes and sues to the said council, for another patent of much larger extent, in their names, which was easily obtained, but he meant to keep it to himself, and to allow them what they pleased to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as chief lord. But the Lord marvellously crossed him in his proceedings; for when the ship above named set out from the Thames, she sprang aleak by that time she got to the Downs, and also by reason of a chop that accidentally befell one of her cables, it broke in a stress of wind while she there rode, and was in danger to have been driven on the sands, and thereupon was constrained to return back to London, and there arrived in fourteen days after, and was haled up into the dock, and an hundred pounds more bestowed on her to mend her leaks and bruises, which she received in the aforesaid storm; and when she was again fitted for the voyage, he pestered his ship, and takes in more passengers, and those some of them not very good, to help to bear his losses, and sets out the second time; and when he was half-way, or thereabouts, to New England, was forced back again by an extreme tempest, wherein the goodness and mercy of God appeared in their preservation, being one hundred and nine souls. This ship suffered the greatest extremity at sea, at her second setting forth, as is seldom the like heard of. It was about the middle of February that the storm began, and it continued for the most part of fourteen days, but for two or three days and nights together, in most violent extremity. At the beginning of the storm, their boat being above decks, was thrown overboard; they spent their mainmast, their roundhouse was beaten off with the storm, and all the upper works of their ship; he that stood to give direction for the guiding of her before the sea, was made fast, to prevent his washing overboard, and the seas did so overrake them, as that many times those upon the deck knew not whether they were within board or without; and by her extreme leaking, being a very rotten ship, and the storm increasing, she was once very near foundering in the sea, so as they thought she would never

rise again: notwithstanding the Lord was pleased of his great mercy to preserve them; and after great weather-beating and extraordinary danger, they arrived safe at Portsmouth in Hampshire, to the wonderment of all that beheld in what condition they were, and heard what they had endured.*

Upon the return of the said Mr. John Pierce for England, (he being personally in this his ship in the so sad storm); the other merchant adventurers got him to assign over the grand patent to the company, which he had taken in his own name, and made quite void their former patent.

About the latter end of June, came in a ship † at Plimouth with Capt. Francis West, who had a commission to be admiral of New England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without license from the council of New England, for which they should pay a great sum of money; but he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be refractory, and their owners, upon complaint made to the Parliament, procured an order that fishing should be free. He told the governor of Plimouth that they spoke with a ship at sea, and were on board her, that was coming to the said plantation of Plimouth, in which were sundry passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been on board; which relation filled them full of fears, yet mixed with hope. The master of the ship had two hogsheads of peas to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at nine pounds sterling and hogshead, and under eight he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an underrate; but they told him they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably; so the said ship went from Plimouth to Virginia.

‡ It may not here be omitted, that notwithstanding all their

* This relation was made by Mr. William Pierce, the master of the said ship, and some passengers of good credit. — M.

† This was the ship called the *Paragon* aforesaid.

‡ The two following paragraphs were inserted by Morton as belonging to the previous year. See note on page 54.

great pains and industry, and the great hopes they had of a large crop, the Lord seemed to threaten them with more and sorer famine by a great drought, which continued from the third week in May, until the middle of July, without any rain, and with great heat of weather for the most part, inso-much that their corn began to wither away, although it was planted with fish, according to the usual manner in those times; yet at length it began to languish sore, and some of the dryer grounds was parched like withered hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which they set apart a solemn day of humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress;* and he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians' admiration, that lived amongst them; for all the morning and the greatest part of the day, it was clear weather, and very hot, and not a cloud nor any sign of rain to be seen, yet towards evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoicing and blessing God. It came without either wind or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance, as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith, which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits, as was wonderful, and made the Indians astonished to behold.† A little before the Lord sent this rain of liberalities upon his people, one of them having occasion to go to the house of the aforementioned Hobamak, the Indian, he, the said Hobamak, said unto him, "I am much troubled for the English, for I am afraid they will lose all their corn by the drought, and so they will be all starved; as for the Indians, they can shift better than the English, for they can get fish to help themselves." But afterwards the same man having occasion to go again to his house, he said

* It is mentioned by Smith, that the religious exercises on this occasion, continued eight or nine hours. — *New England's Trials*.

† This is a specimen of their constant recognition of Divine Providence, of their faith and prayer; as also of God's readiness to hear and answer those who sincerely repair to Him in time of need.

to him, "now I see that the Englishman's God is a good God, for he hath heard you, and sent you rain, and that without storms and tempests and thunder, which usually we have with our rain, which breaks down our corn, but yours stands whole and good still; surely your God is a good God;" or with words to the like effect.*

And after this gracious return of prayers, in this so seasonable a blessing of the rain, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of warm weather, as (through his blessing) caused in its time a fruitful and liberal harvest, to their great comfort and rejoicing; for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a day of thanksgiving unto the Lord.

About fourteen days after came in the ship, called the *Ann*, whereof Mr. William Pierce was master. Two of the principal passengers that came in this ship were Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. George Morton; the former, namely, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, soon after his arrival met with some cross providences by burning of his house, whereby he was much impoverished and much discouraged, and returned the winter following for England; and afterwards the Lord was pleased to renew his estate, and he came again into New England, and proved a very profitable and beneficial instrument, both in church and commonwealth, being one of the first beginners, and a good instrument to uphold the church and town of Scituate; and also served God and the jurisdiction of Plimouth in the place of magistracy, and retained his integrity in the profession of the ways of Christ unto old age; still surviving at the penning hereof.

The latter of the two forenamed, namely, Mr. George

* The person that made this relation is still surviving, (1669,) and a principal man in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth.—M.

John Alden must have been the person here intended. He was one of the signers of the original compact in 1620, being then about twenty-two years of age. He died at Duxbury, in 1687, eighteen years after the first publication of the Memorial, in the eighty-ninth year of his age; having been an assistant in the administration of every governor for sixty-seven years.—*Hist. Coll.* ii. 6. *Allen's Biog. and Hist. Dict.*

Morton, was a pious, gracious servant of God, and very faithful in whatsoever public employment he was betruſted withal, and an unfeigned well willer, and, according to his ſphere and condition, a ſuitable promoter of the common good and growth of the plantation of New Plimouth; laboring to ſtill the diſcontents that ſometimes would ariſe amongſt ſome ſpirits, by occaſion of the difficulties of theſe new beginnings; but it pleaſed God to put a period to his days ſoon after his arrival in New England, not ſurviving a full year after his coming aſhore. With much comfort and peace he fell aſleep in the Lord, in the month of June, anno 1624.

About ten days after the arrival of the ſhip called the Ann, above named, there came in another ſmall ſhip of about forty-four tons, named the James, Mr. Bridges being maſter thereof; which ſaid ſhip the Ann had loſt at ſea by reaſon of foul weather; ſhe was a fine new veſſel, built to ſtay in the country. One of the principal paſſengers that came in her was Mr. John Jenny, who was a godly, though otherwiſe a plain man, yet ſingular for publicneſs of ſpirit, ſetting himſelf to ſeek and promote the common good of the plantation of New Plimouth; who ſpent not only his part of this ſhip (being part owner thereof) in the general concernment of the plantation, but alſo afterwards was alway a leading man in promoting the general intereſt of this colony. He lived many years in New England, and fell aſleep in the Lord, anno 1644. In the two ſhips laſt named, came over many other perſons, beſides thoſe before recited, who proved of good uſe in their places.

Theſe paſſengers, ſeeing the low and poor condition of thoſe that were here before them, were much daunted and diſmayed, and, according to their divers humors, were diverſely affected. Some wiſhed themſelves in England again; others fell on weeping, fancying their own miſery in what they ſaw in others; other ſome pitying the diſtreſs they ſaw their friends had been long in, and ſtill were under. In a word, all were full of ſadneſs; only ſome of their old friends rejoiced to ſee them, and that it was no worſe with them, for they could not expect it ſhould be better, and now hoped they

should enjoy better days together. And truly it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, both in respect of food and clothing at that time.

To consider seriously how sadly the Scripture speaks of the famine in Jacob's time, when he said to his sons, go buy us food, that we may live and not die; and that the famine was great and heavy in the land, and yet they had great herds and store of cattle of sundry kinds, which, besides their flesh, must needs produce other useful benefits for food, and yet it was accounted a sore affliction. But the misery of the planters at Plimouth, at the first beginning, must needs be very great therefore, who not only wanted the staff of bread, but all the benefits of cattle, and had no Egypt to go to, but God fed them out of the sea for the most part; so wonderful is his powerful providence over his in all ages; for his mercy endureth for ever.

About the middle of September arrived Capt. Robert Gorges, in the bay of the Massachusetts, with sundry passengers and families, intended there to begin a plantation, and pitched upon that place, which Mr. Weston forenamed had forsaken. He had a commission from the council of New England to be general governor of the country; and they appointed, for his council and assistants, Capt. Francis West, the aforesaid admiral, Christopher Levet, Esq., and the governor of Plimouth for the time being. Also they gave him authority to choose such others as he should find fit. Also they gave, by their commission, full power to him and his assistants, or any three of them, (whereof himself was always to be one,) to do and execute what to them should seem good, in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil; with divers other instructions; of which, and his commission, it pleased him to suffer the governor of Plimouth to take a copy.

He, meeting with the aforesaid Mr. Weston at Plimouth, called him before him and some other of the assistants, with the governor of Plimouth aforesaid, and charged him with the ill carriage of his men at the Massachusetts, by which means the peace of the country was disturbed, and himself and the people which he had brought over to plant in that

bay, thereby much prejudiced. To which the said Weston easily answered, that what was done in that behalf, was done in his absence, and might have befallen any man. He left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any error committed he had sufficiently smarted.

Another particular was, an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the state. The thing was this; he used him and others of the council of New England, to procure him a license for the transporting of many great pieces of ordnance for New England, pretending great fortification here in the country; for which when he had obtained, he sold them beyond sea for his private profit. At which the state was much offended, and his father suffered a shrewd check, and he had order to apprehend him.*

The said Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not wholly deny it; but after much speech about it, by the mediation of the governor of Plimouth, and some other friends, the said Capt. Gorges was inclined to gentleness, (though he apprehended the abuse of his father deeply,) which when the said Weston perceived, he grew the more presumptuous, and gave such cutting and provoking speeches, as made the said captain rise up in great indignation and distemper, vowing, that he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which the said Weston was daunted, and came privately to the governor of Plimouth, to know whether they would suffer him to send him for England? It was answered him, they could not hinder it; and much blamed him, that after they had pacified things, he should thus break out by his own folly and rashness, and bring trouble upon himself and others. He confessed it was his passion, and prayed the governor aforesaid to entreat for him, and procure a pacification for him if he could; the which at

* The said Mr. Thomas Weston was a man of parts, and a merchant of good account in London. Sometime after these passages, he went for England, and died in the city of Bristol; he proved but a staff of reed to the plantation of Plimouth.— M.

last he did obtain with much difficulty. So he was called again, and the said Capt. Gorges was content to take his own bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or the lords of the council should send for him; and at last he took only his own word, and so there was a friendly parting on all hands.

Soon after this, the said Capt. Gorges took his leave and went to the Massachusetts by land, being very thankful for his kind entertainment. His ship stayed at Plimouth, and fitted for to go to Virginia, having some passengers to deliver there, and with her returned sundry of those from Plimouth, which came over on their particular account; some out of discontent and dislike of the country, and others by reason of fire that burnt their houses and all their provisions, so as they were necessitated thereunto.

* This fire was by some of the seamen, that were roystering in an house where it first began, making a great fire, the weather being cold, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch, and burnt three houses, and consumed all their goods and provisions. The house in which it began, was right against the storehouse at Plimouth, which they had much ado to save; in which was the common store of the provisions of the plantation, which had it been lost, the same had been overthrown; but through God's mercy it was saved by the diligence of the people, and care of the governor and those about him. Some would have had the goods thrown out, but if they had, there would have been much lost by the rude company belonging to the two forenamed ships, which were almost all on shore at this time; but a trusty company were placed within, as well as such as were meanwhile employed in quenching the fire without, that if necessity required, they might have them all out with speed; for they suspected some malicious dealing, if not plain treachery; and whether it was only suspected or no, God knows; but this is certain, that when the tumult was greatest, there was a voice heard (but from whence it came is uncertain), that bade them look well

* This was on the fifth of November, 1624. — M.

about them, for all were not friends that were then about them.* And soon after, when the vehemency of the fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed that was joined to the end of the aforesaid storehouse, which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves whereof the fire being kindled; which some running to quench, found a long firebrand of about an ell long, lying under the wall on the inside, which could not come thither by casualty, but must be laid there by some hand, in the judgment of all that saw it. But God kept them from this danger, whatever might be intended.

But to return again, to speak something of the aforesaid Capt. Gorges, after he had been at the eastward, and expedited some occasions there, he and some that depended upon him returned for England, having scarcely saluted the country in his government, finding the state of things not to answer his quality and condition; his people dispersed themselves, some for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from Plimouth. Amongst the rest the said captain brought over a minister with him, one Mr. Morrel, who returned for England about a year after him, he took ship at Plimouth, and had a certain power and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him, and instructions for that end; but he never showed it, or made any use of it, but only spoke of it to some of Plimouth, at his going away. This was in effect the end of the second plantation, in the forenamed place called Wesagusquaset.

There were also some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Piscataqua, by Mr. David Thompson, and at Monhegin, and some other places, by sundry others.

1624.

The time of new election of officers being come, for this year at Plimouth, the number of their people being increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith; the governor

*. A very remarkable preservation. — M.

desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election, and also to add more assistants to the governor for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of public affairs, showing that it was necessary it should so be; for if it were an honor or benefit, it was fit that others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was) it was but equal that others should help to bear it, and that this was the end of yearly elections.*

The conclusion was, that whereas there was before but one assistant, they now chose five, giving the governor a double voice; † and afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued in that colony until this day.‡

* January 1, 1624, Lord Sheffield grants a patent to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, and associates of Cape Ann, for the Plymouth Colonists. He empowers them to build a town, and, through permission from him, to enact laws for the colony.

January 24. Robert Cushman in London, sends word to Mr. Bradford, that the adventurers had sent a carpenter to build ships, a person to make salt, and a preacher. The preacher is John Lyford, whose coming was promoted by members of the company, who opposed the emigration of Robinson. He also remarks, "We have taken a patent for Cape Anne." Under this patent a colony was established at Cape Anne, in the spring of the year 1624, which is now expanded into the commonwealth of Massachusetts. It was dated January 1, 1623, O. S. The original was recently discovered, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., and will soon be published, edited by him. Under it Roger Conant was appointed governor. The mutations of the companies in England do not affect the historical identity of the colony, nor the chronological order of the incidents in its civil history, which may be considered independently of the authority under which they transpired, and merely with reference to its internal history. In this view the reader will readily trace the series of governors or rulers of the people, from Roger Conant, governor at Cape Anne, under the grant of Lord Sheffield, through John Endicott, the first governor under the Massachusetts Charter, and Winthrop, the second governor under this charter, and Sir William Phipps, Knight, the first governor under the third, or Provincial Charter of 1692.

† Governor Bradford's request was not granted, he was reëlected,

‡ "This spring the people requesting the governor to have some land for continuance, and not by yearly lot as before; he gives every person an acre, to them and theirs, as near the town as can be; and no more till the seven years expire, that we may keep close together for greater defence and safety."

— *Bradford's MS. Hist.* *Prince's Chron.* 226.

In the month of March, in this year, Mr. Edward Winslow arrived at Plimouth, in New England, having been employed as agent for that plantation, on sundry occasions, with the merchant adventurers in England, who brought a considerable supply with him, the ship being bound on a fishing voyage; and with him came Mr. John Lyford, a minister, which was sent over by some of the adventurers.

There came over likewise in this ship, three heifers and a bull, which were the first neat cattle that came into New England.

The aforesaid John Lyford, when he came first on shore, saluted them of the plantation of Plimouth with that reverence and humility, as is seldom to be seen; and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands, if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world; but in the end proved more like those mentioned by the Psalmist, Psal. x. 10, that crouched and bowed, that heaps of the poor may fall by them; or like unto dissembling Ishmael, who when he had slain Gedaliah, went out weeping, Jer. xli. 6; and met those that were coming to offer incense in the house of the Lord, saying, come to Gedaliah, when he meant to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, in all simplicity, and as their governor had used, in all weighty affairs, to consult with their elder, Mr. Brewster, together with his assistants, so now he called Mr. Lyford also on such like occasions. After some short time, he desired to join himself a member to their church, and was accordingly received; he made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgment of his former disorderly walking, and his being entangled with many corruptions, which had been a burden to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty, with many more such like expressions. In some short time he fell into acquaintance with Mr. John Oldham, who was a copartner with him in his after courses; not long after, both

Oldham and he grew very perverse, and showed a spirit of great malignity, drawing as many into a faction as they could; were they never so vile and profane, they did nourish and abet them in all their doings, so they would but cleave to them, and speak against the church. So as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them, they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England, by the faction of their friends there;* which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise, yet they could not so carry closely, but both much of their doings and sayings were discovered, although outwardly they set a fair face on things.

At length when the ship he came in was ready to return for England, and it was observed that Lyford was long in writing, and sent many letters, and could nor forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently. The governor and some of his friends, knowing how things stood in reference to some known adversaries in England, and what hurt these things might do, took a boat and went out with the ship a league or two, and called for all Lyford's and Oldham's letters. Mr. William Pierce being master of the ship, and knew well their evil dealings, (both in England and here,) afforded them all the assistance he could; he found about twenty of Lyford's letters, many of them large and full of slanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but ruin and utter subversion. Most of them they let pass, only took copies of them, but some of the most material they sent true copies of them and kept the originals, lest he should deny them, and that they might produce his own hand against him. Amongst these letters they found the copies of two letters which were sent in a letter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minister, and a great opposite to the plantation; these two letters, of which he took copies, were one of them written by a gentleman in England, to Mr.

* That is, some of the adventurers, who proved in the issue adversaries to the plantation. — M.

Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson in Holland; at his coming away, as the ship lay at Gravesend, they lying sealed in the great cabin, whilst Mr. Winslow was busy about the affairs of the ship, this sly merchant opens them, takes copies of them, and seals them up again, and not only seals the copies of them thus, To his friend and their adversary, but adds thereto in the margin many scurrilous and flouting annotations. In the evening the governor returned, and they were something blank at it; but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, were then as brisk as ever thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current, and that the governor went out but to despatch his own letters.

The reason why the governor and the rest concealed these things, was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents, and see who were their adherents; because, amongst the rest, they found a letter of one of their confederates, in which was written, that Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth, and as soon as the ship was gone they intended to join together and have the sacrament; a few of Oldham's letters were found in the aforesaid search, being so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible, yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other; and thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at every thing. Oldham being called to watch, (according to order,) refuseth to come, fell out with the captain, called him rascal, and beggarly rascal, and resisted him, and drew his knife at him, though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him any ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty; the governor hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it; but he ranted with great fury, and called them all traitors; but being committed to prison, after a while he came to himself, and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behaviour, for further censure. But to cut things short, at length it grew to this issue, that Lyford, with his accomplices, without either speaking one word either to the governor, church, or elder, withdrew themselves, and set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day, with sundry such insolent

carriages, too long here to relate, beginning more publicly to act that which they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time, to prevent further mischief, to call them to account; so the governor called a court, and summoned the whole company together, and they charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of respecting the premises; but they were stiff, and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things, and required proof; they first alleged what was writ compared with their practices here; that it was evident they joined in plotting against them, and disturbed their peace in their civil and church state, which was most injurious, for both they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, in the free use of God's ordinances, and for that end had ventured their lives, and passed through much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small, and that he, namely, Lyford, for his part, was sent over on this charge, and both he and his great family was maintained on the same; and for him to plot against them, and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious.

But Lyford denied, and made strange of sundry things laid to his charge. Then his letters were produced, at which he was struck mute. Oldham began to be furious, and to rage, because they had intercepted their letters, provoked the people to mutiny in such words as these; my masters, where are your hearts? Now show your courage; you have often complained to me so and so, now is the time, if you will do any thing, I will stand by you, etc., thinking that every one knowing his humor that had fooled and flattered him, or otherwise, or that in their discontent uttered any thing unto him, would now side with him, in open rebellion; but he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, all were silent.

Then the governor took pains in convicting Lyford of his hypocrisy and treachery, in abusing his friends, in taking copies of their letters in an underhand way, and sending them abroad to their disgrace, etc., and produced them, and his own letters under his own hand, which he could not deny,

and caused them to be read before all the people ; at which all his confederates were blank, and had not a word to say.

But after a while, he began to say, that sundry had made some complaint unto him, and informed him of divers things, which being there present, and the particulars named to them, they denied.

Then they dealt with him about his dissembling in the church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he had made at his admittance, and that he held not himself a minister, till he had a new calling, etc., and yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, and sequestered himself, and would go about to administer the sacraments by his former calling, without ever acquainting them with it. In conclusion he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and confessed, he feared he was a reprobate, his sins were so great that he doubted that God would not pardon them, he was unsavory salt, etc., and that he had so wronged them, as he could never make them amends ; confessing all he had written against them was false and naught, both for matter and manner ; and all this he did with as much fulness as words and tears could express.

After their trial and conviction, the court sentenced them to be expelled the plantation ; John Oldham presently to depart, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, until he could make provision to remove them comfortably.* Lyford had liberty to stay six months ; it was with some eye to his release, if he carried himself well in the mean time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was far less than he deserved, and afterwards he confessed his sin publicly in the church, with tears, more largely than before. I shall here relate it as I find it penned by some who took it from his own mouth as himself uttered it.

Acknowledging that he had done very evil, and slanderously

* "There was some friendly correspondence between the colony and Oldham, before his death." — *Marginal note in Bradford's record.*

abused them; and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to have carried all by violence and strong hand against them; and that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come by these his writings, and blessed God that they were stayed; and that he spared not to take knowledge from any of any evil that was spoken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and that if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just; and he confessed three things to be the causes of these his doings, pride, vainglory, and self-love; amplifying these heads with many other expressions in the particulars of them, so as they began to conceive good thoughts of him, upon his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; yea, sundry tender-hearted persons amongst them were so taken with his signs of sorrow and repentance, as they professed they would fall on their knees to have his censure remitted and released. But that which made them all stand amazed in the end (and may do all others who shall come to hear the same, for a rarer precedent can scarce be named), was, that after two months' time, all his former confessions, convictions, and public acknowledgments, both in the presence of God and his church, and the whole company, with so many tears, and censures of himself, he should go again to justify what he had done; for secretly he wrote a second letter to the adventurers in England, in which he justified all his former writings, save in some things which tended to their damage.*

1625.

At the time of their election court, John Oldham came again amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure, for his former mutiny, not to return without leave first obtained, yet he presumed, without leave at all, to come, being set on and hardened by the ill counsel of others; and

* The copy of this letter is extant, but too large to be here inserted. — M.

not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to run beyond the bounds and limits of all reason and modesty, insomuch that some strangers that were with him were ashamed of his outrages, and rebuked him, but all reproofs were but oil to the fire, and made the flame of his choler the greater. He called them all to naught in his fury, an hundred rebels and traitors; but in conclusion, they committed him until he was tamer, and then appointed a guard of musketeers, which he was to pass through, and every one was ordered to give him a blow on his hinder parts, with the butt end of his musket, and then he was conveyed to the water-side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, Go and mend your manners.*

After the removal of his family he fell into some straits, and about a year after intended a voyage to Virginia; and so it pleased God that himself and sundry passengers being in the bark, they were in great danger, so as they despaired of life, and fell to prayer, and to examination of their hearts and consciences, and confessed such sins as most burdened them, and the said John Oldham did make a free and large confession of the wrongs he had done to the church and people at Plimouth, in many particulars; and that as he had sought their ruin, so God had now met with him, and might destroy him; yea, he feared that they all fared the worse for his sake: he prayed God to forgive him, and made vows, that if the Lord spared his life he would become otherwise. This was reported by some of good credit, not long since living in the Massachusetts Bay, that were themselves partners in the same danger, which was on the shoals of Cape Cod.

It pleased God to spare their lives, but they lost their voy-

* "While this is doing, Mr. Winslow and Mr. William Pierce land from England, and bid them spare neither him (Oldham) nor Lyford, for they had played the villains with us; and their friends in England had the like bickerings with ours there about Lyford's calumnious letters, etc."

Mr. Winslow made so surprising a discovery of Lyford's carriage, when minister in Ireland, for which he had been forced to leave the kingdom, as struck all his friends mute, made them ashamed to defend him, and he was condemned as unmeet to bear the ministry more. — *Prince's Chron.* 232.

age; and some time afterwards, the said Mr. John Oldham carried himself fairly towards them, and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honorable respect of them; and so far made his peace with them, as he had liberty to go and come at his pleasure, and in some time after went on trading in a small vessel amongst the Indians, and being weakly manned, upon some quarrel betwixt them, they slew him with a hatchet; this death being one ground of the Pequot war, of which afterwards in its proper place.*

The time being expired that Mr. John Lyford's censure was to take place, he was so far from answering their hopes by amendment, as he had doubled his evil, as before mentioned. But first behold the hand of God concerning him, wherein that of the Psalmist is verified, Psal. vii. 15. He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the pit that he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead of that opens his own to all the world; for his wife, who was a prudent, sober woman, taking notice of his false and deceitful carriage about the premises, in grief of mind expressed her fears, that God would bring upon him and family, some sad judgment for these and other of his wicked practices, and related that he had a bastard, by another woman, before marriage with her, which he denied to her with an oath, but it afterwards appeared to be so; and another miscarriage of the like nature, more odiously circumstanced, was also discovered, for which he was forced to leave Ireland, and so came New England to be troubled with him. Being banished hence, he went first to Nantasket, then to Salem, and after to Virginia, where he shortly after died.

I have been too tedious in my relating the plots of these Machiavelians: but to conclude, the reader may take notice, that God observed and brought to nought their wicked devices, was a defence to the innocent, and caught them in the snares they privily laid for them, punishing one sin by another,

* He was a man of parts, but high-spirited, and extremely passionate, which marred all in point of right improvement of them. — M.

until he had accomplished the freedom of his Israel, by the overthrow of his and their enemies; for which his mercy, let his holy name be praised for evermore.

This storm was blown over, yet sundry sad effects followed, for the company of the merchant adventurers break in pieces hereupon, and the greatest part wholly deserted the colony, but yet God took care of it; for although sundry of them fell off and adventured no more towards the support thereof, but rather proved manifest adversaries thereunto, than otherwise; and the rest partly because they were grown (some of them) low in their estates, and there being small hopes of returns to their expectations; although courteous in words and well wishes, yet afforded little or no help after this, so that the plantation was fain to stand on their own legs, being indeed marvellously supported by the Lord, for it pleased him so to bless their endeavors, as that they raised great crops of Indian corn (about this time), so as they had enough and to spare, and began to have thoughts of improving part of it in a way of trading with the Indians, and having only two shallops and no bigger vessels, they laid a deck on one of them in the midships, to preserve the corn dry from weather, and so sent her laden with corn, to a place called Kennebeck, about fifty leagues off to the eastward;* and notwithstanding they were strangers to the way, and place of trade, and to the people, and having no seamen, and, at that season, being the latter end of the year and drawing on to winter; yet it pleased God to preserve them, and so to bless their endeavors, as that they returned in safety, and with good success, it being the first enterprise they achieved in this kind, at least so far, and it proved an inlet to a further trade, which was greatly beneficial to them afterwards.

And here I may not omit the observable dispensation of God's providence, respecting his dealing with the adventurers aforementioned, in reference unto two ships they sent unto these parts about that time, on a fishing voyage only upon their own account, having left the plantation to shift for them-

* See Prince for the time.

selves; one of these ships was a small one, namely, the *James*, forenamed, which was well laden with cor-fish, and in her a great quantity likewise of beaver and other furs,* which was sent by the plantation to the adventurers, and returned for England; the other ship was also laden with good dry fish, and she also returned with her; being thus well freighted, they went together lovingly and joyfully away, the greater ship towing the lesser at her stern all the way over bound, and had such fair weather as they never cast her off till they were shot deep into the English channel, almost within sight of Plimouth, and yet there she was unhappily taken by a Turkish man-of-war, and carried into Sallee, where the master and men were made slaves, and many of the beaver skins were sold for fourpence apiece. Thus were all their hopes dashed in this respect, and the joyful news they went to carry home, turned into heavy tidings. Some thought this an hand of God for some unkindness showed to the plantation, by exaction upon them in reference to a parcel of goods they a little before had sent over to them on extreme rates; but God's judgments are unsearchable, neither ought we to be too bold therewith. But, however, it shows us the uncertainty of all human things, and what little cause there is in joying in them, or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these ships Capt. Miles Standish went over as agent in the behalf of the plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers; as also to the honorable council of New England; and notwithstanding some difficulty he met with in his occasions by reason of the pestilence which was then so hot in the city of London,† yet he accomplished his business so as he left things in a fair way for future composition, betwixt the said merchant adventurers and the plantation; and he spake also with some of the honorable council, aforenamed, who prom-

* Eight hundred weight of beaver, with other furs, a good quantity. — M.

† “From December 22, 1624, to December 23, 1625, there die of the plague in London and Westminster, forty-one thousand, three hundred and thirteen.” — *Prince*.

ised all helpfulness to the plantation, that lay in them. About this time it pleased the Lord likewise to give peace, health, and good success on their endeavors, his holy name be praised.

1626.

About the beginning of April, they heard of Capt. Standish's arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home; welcome he was, but the news he brought was sad in many regards, not only in regard to the forementioned losses which their friends had, and some of them dead of the plague, but also that Mr. John Robinson, their pastor was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they had great cause; his and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming into New England,* but now the Lord had appointed him to a greater journey, at less charge, to a better place.

* Hutchinson, ii. 454, says that "he was prevented by disappointments from those in England who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his congregation." It appears that, "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others were at this time determined that New England should be settled under Episcopacy; and though they would allow and encourage the people to settle here, they were unwilling that any Puritan ministers should accompany them. The bishops had prevented the crown from granting liberty to the petitions from Leyden; and it was accounted a great matter in 1621, to obtain a cautious allowance of indulgence under the authority of the president and council for the affairs of New England. But they took care to obstruct the coming over of so important a man as Mr. Robinson, a great man, and father of the Independents."

Mr. Robinson's own judgment in the case is thus expressed, in a letter to Elder Brewster, dated at Leyden, December 20, 1623. After speaking of the adventurers and classifying them, he says in relation to the body of them, "I persuade myself that for me they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, especially such as have an eye that way themselves, . . . and for those adversaries, if they have but half their will to their malice, they will stop my course, when they see it intended." Sherley, who was one of the adventurers, incurred the ill-will of his associates by favoring the removal. "The sole cause," he observed in a letter to the Plymouth people in 1627, "why the greater part of the adventurers malign me, was, that I would not side with them against you and the coming over of the Leyden people."

But before I pass things concerning this worthy servant of Christ, Mr. John Robinson, I shall here insert the honorable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, senior, hath left behind him, concerning him, being greatly acquainted with his worth and excellency.

Saith he, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said of that famous Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, That it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. But to return.*

Capt. Standish likewise brought the sad news of the death

* Mr. John Robinson died at Leyden, on the 1st of March, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. It is but the truth to say, that many tens of thousands of Christian men hold his name in honorable remembrance. He yet lives, by his example, and by the influence of his sacrifices and toils; and in the third century after his death, he enjoys the singular distinction of being equally honored in the east and the west — in two countries separated by a mighty ocean.

It was four or five years after the death of Mr. Robinson, before provision could be made for the removal of his wife and children to Plymouth. In 1629 thirty-five families were transported from Leyden to New England, at the heavy expense of £500, paid by the brethren in the colony. Another company came over the next year, at a still greater expense. In one of these companies were the wife and children of Mr. Robinson.

We have the names of but two of his children, John and Isaac. John settled at, or near Cape Ann, Isaac settled near Plymouth, at Scituate, where he was a freeman in 1633. He removed in 1639 to Barnstable. The descendants of Robinson are numerous, scattered over New England and other States of the Union, and in various respectable and useful stations in life. (See life of Robinson, prefixed to his works.)

ROGER WHITE TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

To his loving friend, Mr. William Bradford, governor of Plimouth, in New England, these be, etc.

LOVING AND KIND FRIENDS, ETC.,

I know not whether ever this will come to your hands, or miscarry, as other of my letters have done; yet, in regard of the Lord's dealing with us here, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a part with us, both in our joys and sorrows, as we do with you.

of Mr. Robert Cushman, their ancient friend, whom the Lord took away also, this year, about the same time, who was as

These, therefore, are to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears, your and our loving and faithful pastor, and my dear and reverend brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days, beginning first to be sick on a Saturday morning; yet the next day, being the Lord's day, he taught us twice, and the week after grew every day weaker than other, yet felt no pain but weakness, all the time of his sickness. The physic he took wrought kindly, in man's judgment, yet he grew every day weaker than other, feeling little or no pain, yet sensible till the very last. He fell sick the 22d of February, and departed this life on the 1st of March. He had a continual inward ague, but, I thank the Lord, was free of the plague, so that all his friends could come freely to him; and if either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his work which the Lord had appointed him here to perform; he now rests with the Lord, in eternal happiness; we wanting him, and all church governors, not having one at present that is a governing officer among us. Now for ourselves here left, (I mean the whole church,) we still, by the mercy of God, continue and hold close again together in peace and quietness, and so I hope we shall do, though we be very weak; wishing, (if such were the will of God,) that you and we were again together in one, either there or here; but seeing it is the will of the Lord, thus to dispose of things, we must labor with patience to rest contented, till it please the Lord otherwise to dispose of things.

For news at present here, is not much worth the writing; only as in England we have lost our old king James, who departed this life about a month ago, so here we have lost Grave Maurice, the old prince here, who both departed this life since my brother Robinson; and as in England we have a new king, Charles, of whom there is great hope of good, so here likewise we have made Prince Hendrick, general, in his brother's place, who is now with the Grave of Mansfield with a great army, close by the enemy, to free Breda, if it be possible, which the enemy hath besieged now some nine or ten months; but how it will fall out at last, is yet uncertain. The Lord give good success, if it be his will. The king is making ready about one hundred sail of ships; the end is not yet certain, but they will be ready to go to sea very shortly. The king himself goes to see them once in fourteen days. And thus fearing lest this will not come to your hands, hoping as soon as I hear of a convenient messenger to write more at large, and to send you a letter which my brother Robinson sent to London, to have gone to some of you, but coming too late, was brought back again. And so for this time I cease further to trouble you, and rest

Your assured loving friend,

ROGER WHITE.

Leyden, April 28, 1625.

their right hand with their friends the adventurers, and for divers years had done and agitated all their business with them, to their great advantage, of whom, occasionally, there hath been honorable mention formerly made in this book.*

About this time they received divers letters from their friends at Leyden, in Holland, full of sad lamentation for their heavy loss by the death of their pastor, Mr. Robinson, above named; and although their wills were good to come over to their brethren in New England, yet they saw no probability of means how it might be effected, but concluded, as it were, that all their hopes were cut off, and many, being aged, began to drop away by death. All which things before related, being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity, and to look humanly on the state of things, as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage and sink them, but they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose work they had in hand, as now, when they were very low, they began to rise again; and being stripped, in a manner, of all human helps and hopes, he brought things about otherwise in his divine providence, so as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honored and imitated by others, as by the sequel will appear.†

1627.

This year they sent Mr. Isaac Allerton for England, and gave him orders to make a composition with the adventurers, in reference unto some particulars betwixt the plantation and

* In Gov. Bradford's letter book is a letter from four of the adventurers to the "General Society of Plymouth," written 18th December, 1624, probably by Mr. Cushman, which gives much insight into their affairs, especially relative to their connection with the adventurers, and evidences the good sense and excellent spirit of the writer.

Descendants of Cushman are numerous in Plympton, Duxbury, and Middleborough.

† See Prince's Chron. in Appendix, for further particulars.

them, which Capt. Standish had begun, as is before hinted, and at the ordinary season of the year, for the expectation of ships, he returned with some success in the business he was employed.

Likewise this year they began to make some distribution of lands, having had hitherto but to every person one acre allowed him, as to propriety, besides their homesteads, or garden-plots, the reason was that they might keep together, both for more safety and defence, and the better improvement of the general employments; which condition of theirs brings to mind that which may be read in Pliny, Lib. 18, chap. 2, of the Roman's first beginnings in Romulus's time, how every man contented himself with two acres of land, and had no more assigned them; and, chap. 3, it was thought a great reward to receive, at the hands of the people of Rome, a pint of corn; and long after, the greatest present given to a captain, that had got a victory over their enemies, was as much ground as he could till in one day; and he was not accounted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not content himself with seven acres of land; as also how they did pound their corn in mortars, as these people were forced to do, many years before they could get a mill.

Notwithstanding, as aforesaid, so small a portion of land served them at the first, yet afterwards for divers reasons moving thereunto, they were necessitated to lay out some larger proportions to each person; yet resolving to keep such a mean in distribution of lands, as should not hinder their growth by others coming to them, and therefore accordingly allotted to every one in each family, twenty acres, to be laid out five acres in breadth, by the water-side, and four acres in length.

I may not omit the inserting of a particular, that fell out this year, in reference unto a ship with many passengers in her, and some considerable goods, which was bound for Virginia, who had lost themselves at sea, either by the insufficiency of the master, or his illness, for he was sick and lame of the scurvy, so as he could but lie in the cabin door, and give direction, and, it should seem, was badly assisted either with mate or mariners, or else the fear of, and the un-

ruliness of the passengers was such, as they made them steer a course between the south-west and north-west, that they might fall in with some land; whatever it was they cared not, for they had been six weeks at sea, and had no beer nor water, nor wood left, but had burnt up all their empty casks, only one of the company had a hogshead of wine or two, which was also almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them run this desperate course. But it pleased God, that although they came so near the shoals of Cape Cod, or else ran stumbling over them in the night, they knew not how, they came before a small harbor, that lieth about the middle of Mannamoiet Bay, to the southward of Cape Cod, and with a small gale of wind, and about high water, touched upon a bar of sand that lieth before it, but had no hurt, the sea being smooth; so they laid out an anchor; but towards evening the wind sprang up at sea, and was so rough as they brake their cable, and beat them over the bar into the harbor, where they saved their lives and goods; for, although with much beating they had sprung a butt end of a plank, yet they soon got over, and ran upon a dry flat within the harbor, close to a beach, and at low-water, got out their goods, and were not a little glad that they had saved their lives. But when they had refreshed themselves, not knowing where they were, nor what to do, were much troubled, but soon after some Indians came towards them in canoes, which made them stand upon their guard, but when they heard some of them speak English, they were not a little revived; especially when they heard them ask, whether they were not the governor of Plimouth's men, or friends, and that they would bring them to the English houses, or carry their letters; and when they had feasted these Indians, and given them many gifts, they sent two men, and a letter with them to the governor of Plimouth, by which he had intelligence of their condition, and took order for their supply; they hoping, by mending of their ship, to recover her to go to sea again, and accordingly did mend her; but afterwards having but bad mooring, was put on shore again, and suffered so much shipwreck as she never got off more, but all

the company were forced to repair to Plimouth, where they continued the best part of the year, being courteously entertained, and so were dispersed; the greatest part of them went to Virginia, and some remained in the country. The chief amongst them were Mr. Fells, Mr. Sibsey, and the master's name was Johnston, a Scotchman.

This year the plantation of Plimouth received messages from the Dutch plantation, sent unto them from the governor there, written both in Dutch and French. The sum of the letters forementioned were, to congratulate the English here, taking notice of much that might engage them to a friendly correspondency and good neighborhood, as the propinquity of their native country, their long continued friendship, etc., and desires to fall into a way of some commerce and trade with them.*

To which the governor and council of Plimouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighborhood in general, and particularly for commerce. And accordingly the Dutch, not long after, sent their secretary, Mr. Isaac de Rosier, with letters and goods, who laid the foundation of a trade that continued between them many years after, to their mutual benefit. They also brought the English acquainted with the trading of Wampampeag,† until then little known to us, nor esteemed by us, but was after of good valuation and profitable. Although for the space of twenty years, it was of great esteem

* The Dutch had trading in those southern parts divers years before the English came, but they began no plantation until after the English came and were here seated. — M.

† *Wampampeag*. The Indians are ignorant of Europe's coin, yet they give a name to ours and call it *moncash*. Their own is of two sorts, one white, which they make of the stem or stock of the periwinkle when the shell is broken off; of this sort are their small beads which they make with holes to string the bracelets, and are current with the English for a penny. The other is black, which is made of the shell of a fish, and of this sort three pass for a penny. One fathom of their stringed money is worth five shillings. The white money they call wampum, the black suchawhock. The black fathom is two fathom white. They hang strings of their money about their necks, and curiously make girdles of it. — *Will's Key. Hist. Coll.* iii. 231.

among the natives in divers parts of the country, so as it made the Indians, in these parts, rich, proud, and powerful; yet until they had store of it, they could not attain English ammunition, but were fain to improve their own artillery of bows and arrows; but when as they learned to make store of wampum, they furnished themselves with guns, powder, and shot, which no laws can restrain, by reason of the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, and French, which may turn to the ruin of many; for hitherto the Indians of these parts had no pieces, nor other arms but their bows and arrows and clubs, nor in many years after; neither durst they scarce handle a gun; though out of kelter, it was a terror to them; but those Indians to the eastern parts, which had commerce with the French, got pieces of them, and they in the end made a common trade of it, and in time our English fishermen, led with the like covetousness, followed their example for their own gain; but upon complaint against them, it pleased the king's majesty to prohibit the same by a strict proclamation, commanding that no sort of arms or ammunition should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

1628.

This year died Mr. Richard Warren, who hath been mentioned before in this book, and was an useful instrument; and during his life bore a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settlement of the plantation of New Plimouth.*

Whereas about three years before this time there came over one Capt. Wollaston,† a man of considerable parts, and

* The widow of Richard Warren died in 1673, aged 90. They had seven children, two sons and five daughters. The late Hon. James Warren, of Plymouth, was a descendant from Richard Warren.

† This gentleman's name is here occasionally used, and although he came over in the year 1625, yet these passages in reference to Morton, fell out about this year, and therefore referred to this place.—M.

with him three or four more of some eminency, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other requisites for to begin a plantation, and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts Bay, which they called afterwards by their captain's name, Mount Wollaston; which place is since called by the name of Braintree. And amongst others that came with him, there was one Mr. Thomas Morton, who should seem had some small adventure of his own or other men's amongst them, but had little respect, and was slighted by the meanest servants they kept. They having continued some time in New England, and not finding things to answer their expectation, nor profit to arise as they looked for, the said Capt. Wollaston takes a great part of the servants, and transports them to Virginia, and disposed of them there, and writes back to one Mr. Rasdale, of his chief partners, and accounted their merchant, to bring another part of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest; and he with consent of the said Rasdale, appointed one whose name was Filcher to be his lieutenant, and to govern the remainder of the plantation, until he or Rasdale should take further order thereabout.

But the aforesaid Morton, having more craft than honesty, having been a pettifogger at Furnival's Inn, he in the other's absence, watches an opportunity, commons being but hard among them, and got some strong drink, and other junkets, and made them a feast, and after they were merry, he began to tell them he would give them good counsel; you see, said he, that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia, and if you stay still until Rasdale's return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest; therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieut. Filcher, and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates, so may you be free from service, and we will converse, plant, trade, and live together as equals, or to the like effect. This counsel was easily followed, so they took opportunity and thrust Lieut. Filcher out of doors, and would not suffer him to come any more amongst them, but forced him to seek

bread to eat and other necessities, amongst his neighbors, till he could get a passage for England.*

After this they fell to great licentiousness of life, in all profaneness, and the said Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained, as it were, a school of Atheism, and after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong liquors in great excess, as some have reported, ten pounds' worth, in a morning, setting up a may-pole, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it like so many fairies, or furies rather, yea, and worse practices, as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the Roman's goddess, Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. The said Morton, likewise, to show his poetry, composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some person's names, which he affixed to his idle or idol may-pole; they changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they called it the Merry Mount, as if this jollity would have lasted always. But this continued not long, for shortly after that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicot, who brought over a patent under the broad seal of England, for the government of the Massachusetts, visiting these parts, caused that may-pole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better; so the name was again changed, and called Mount Dagon.

Now to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse expense, the said Morton thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the fishermen made of trading of pieces, powder, and shot; he, as head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts; and first he taught the Indians how to use them, to charge and discharge them, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of the same, and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer; and having instructed them, he employed

* See the sad effects of the want of good government.—M.

some of them to hunt and fowl for him; so as they became somewhat more active in this employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body, being also quicksighted, and by continual exercise, well knowing the haunt of all sorts of game; so as when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became very eager after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them; accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here we may take occasion to bewail the mischief which came by this wicked man, and others like unto him; in that, notwithstanding all laws for the restraint of selling ammunition to the natives, that so far base covetousness prevailed, and doth still prevail, as that the savages become amply furnished with guns, powder, shot, rapiers, pistols, and also well skilled in repairing of defective arms; yea some have not spared to tell them how gunpowder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own land, and would, no doubt, in case they could attain to making of saltpetre, teach them to make powder; and what mischief may fall out to the English in those parts thereby, let this pestilent fellow Morton, aforementioned, bear a greater part of the blame and guilt of it to future generations. But lest I should hold the reader too long in the relation of the particulars of his vile actings, when as the English that then lived up and down about the Massachusetts, and in other places, perceiving the sad consequences of his trading, so as the Indians became furnished with the English arms and ammunition, and expert in the improving of them, and fearing they should, at one time or another, get a blow thereby; also, taking notice that if he were let alone in his way, they should keep no servants for him, because he would entertain any, how vile soever; sundry of the chief of the straggling plantations met together, and agreed, by mutual consent, to send to Plimouth, who were then of more strength to join with them, to suppress this mischief; who, considering the particulars, proposed to them to join together to take some

speedy course to prevent, if it might be, the evil that was accruing towards them; and resolved, first, to admonish him of his wickedness respecting the premises, laying before him the injury he did to their common safety, and that his acting concerning the same was against the king's proclamation; but he insolently persisted on in his way, and said the king was dead, and his displeasure with him, and threatened them that if they came to molest him, they should look to themselves; so that they saw there was no way but to take him by force; so they resolved to proceed in such a way, and obtained of the governor of Plimouth, to send Capt. Standish, and some other aid with him, to take the said Morton by force, the which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly on his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set powder and shot ready upon the table, scoffed and scorned at them, and he and his accomplices being filled with strong drink, were desperate in their way; but he himself coming out of doors to make a shot at Capt. Standish, he stepping to him, put by his piece and took him, and so little hurt was done; and so he was brought prisoner to Plimouth, and continued in durance, till an opportunity of sending him for England, which was done at their common charge, and letters also with him, to the honorable council for New England, and returned again into the country in some short time, with less punishment than his demerits deserved, as was apprehended.

The year following he was again apprehended, and sent for England, where he lay a considerable time in Fleet gaol; for, besides his miscarriage here in New England, he was suspected of having murdered a man that had ventured moneys with him when he first came into New England; and a warrant was sent over from the lord chief-justice to apprehend him; by virtue thereof he was, by the governor of the Massachusetts, sent into England, and for other of his misdemeanors amongst them in that government, they demolished his house, that it might no longer be a roost for such unclean birds. Notwithstanding he got free in England again, and wrote an infamous and scurrilous book against many godly

and chief men of the country, full of lies and slanders, and full fraught with profane calumnies against their names and persons, and the ways of God. But to the intent I may not trouble the reader any more with mentioning of him in this history; in fine, sundry years after he came again into the country, and was imprisoned at Boston, for the aforesaid book and other things, but denied several things therein, affirming his book was adulterated. And soon after being grown old in wickedness, at last ended his life at Piscataqua. But I fear I have held the reader too long about so unworthy a person, but hope it may be useful to take notice how wickedness was beginning, and would have further proceeded, had it not been prevented timely.

1629.

This year sundry ships came out of England, and arrived at Neumkeak,* where Mr. John Endicot had chief command;† and by infection that grew among the passengers at sea, it spread also among them on shore, of which many died, some

* Now called Salem. — M.

“August, 1629. Thirty-five of our friends, with their families, from Leyden, arrived at Plimouth. They shipped at London in May, with the ships that came to Salem, which bring over many pious persons to begin the churches there. So that their being long kept back is now recompensed by heaven with a double blessing; in that we not only enjoy them beyond our expectation, when all hope seemed to be cut off, but with them many more godly friends, as the beginning of a larger harvest for Christ, in the increase of his people and churches in these parts of the earth, to the admiration of many, and almost the wonder of the world. The charge is reckoned on the several families; some fifty pounds, some forty, some thirty, as their number and expenses were; which our undertakers pay for gratis, besides giving them houses, preparing them grounds to plant on and maintain them with corn, etc., above thirteen or fourteen months, before they have a harvest of their own production.” — *Bradford in Prince*, 265.

† Mr. Endicot, with a small company, was sent to carry on the plantation at Naumkeak. He sailed from England, June 20, and arrived at Naumkeak, in August, 1628. Mr. Conant had before removed thither, from Cape Ann. The next year, 1629, five ships came. Mr. Higginson arrived in June.

of the scurvy, and others of infectious fevers. Mr. Endicot understanding that there was one at Plimouth that had skill in such diseases, sent thither for him; at whose request he was sent unto them. And afterwards acquaintance and Christian love and correspondency came on betwixt the said governor and the said Endicot; which was furthered by congratulatory letters that passed betwixt each other; one whereof, because it shows the beginning of their Christian fellowship, I shall here insert.

The copy of a letter from Mr. Endicot to Mr. Bradford, as followeth :

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is, there can be no discord; nay, here must needs be a sweet harmony; and the same request, with you, I make unto the Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship; it is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular; but God's children must not look for less here below; and it is a great mercy of God that he strengtheneth them to go through with it. I shall not need, at this time, to enlarge unto you, for (God willing) I pur-

pose to see your face shortly; in the mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessing and protection, and rest your assured loving friend,

JOHN ENDICOT.*

Neumkeak, May 11, 1629.

* Shortly after writing this letter, came these people before mentioned, and quickly grew into church order, and set themselves to walk in all the ways of God, as will appear by the following narrative, and the letter from Mr. Gott, which we here insert.

To the worshipful, his worthy and much respected friend, Mr. Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, these :

MOST WORTHY AND MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND, MR. BRADFORD;

I, with my wife, remember our service unto you and yours, thanking you most humbly for your great kindness, when we were at Plimouth with you : Sir, I make bold to trouble you with a few lines, for to certify you, how it hath pleased God to deal with us, since you heard from us; how, notwithstanding all opposition, that hath been here and elsewhere, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word, in every thing. The 20th of July, it pleased God to move the heart of our governor, to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher; the former part of the day being spent in praise and teaching; the latter part was spent about the election, which was after this manner; the persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged there was a twofold calling, the one an inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with gifts for the same; the second (the outward calling) was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant, to walk together in all the ways of God, every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers, etc. Now, we being persuaded that these two were so qualified as the apostle speaks of to Timothy, where he saith a bishop must be blameless, sober, apt to teach, etc., I think I may say as the eunuch said unto Philip, what should let him from being baptized, seeing there was water, and he believed; so these two servants of God clearing all things by their answers, (and being thus fitted,) we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voices for their election after this trial. Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher; so the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson, to be teacher; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest

In the three ships that came over this year to Salem, in the month of June, besides many godly Christians, there came over three ministers, two of them, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, were non-conformists, who, having suffered much in their native land upon that account, they came over with a professed intention of practising church reformation; the third minister, Mr. Bright, was a conformist, who, not agreeing in judgment with the other two, removed to Charlestown, where also, not agreeing with those godly Christians there, that were for reformation, after one year's stay in the country, he returned for England: but Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, in pursuance of the ends of their coming over into this wilderness, acquainted the governor, Mr. Endicot, and the rest of the godly people whom they found inhabitants of the place, and the chief of the passengers that came over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation; from whom they found a general and hearty concurrence, so that, after some conference together about this matter, they pitched upon the 6th of August for their entering into a solemn covenant with God and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers; of which they gave notice to the church of Plimouth, that being the only church that was in the country before them. The people made choice of Mr. Skelton for

members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson. Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over; but since Thursday, (being, as I take it, the 5th of August,) is appointed for another solemn day of humiliation for the full choice of elders and deacons, and ordaining them; now, good sir, I hope that you and the rest of God's people (who are acquainted with the ways of God), with you, will say that here was a right foundation laid, and that these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door, and not at the window. And thus I have made bold to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us to Mr. Brewster, Mr. Smith, Mr. Fuller, and the rest of the church; so I rest, at your service in what I may till death,

CHARLES GOTT.

Salem, July 30, anno 1629.

their pastor, and Mr. Higginson for their teacher.* And accordingly it was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in scripture language; which being done, was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erro-

* April 8.—At another meeting of the Massachusetts Company in London, Mr. Francis Higginson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, another non-conformist minister of Lincolnshire, and Mr. Francis Bright, entertained by said company, as ministers for the plantation, to labor both among the English and Indians. Mr. Higginson, having eight children, is to have ten pounds a year more than the others; Mr. Ralph Smith, a minister, is also to be accommodated in his passage thither.

April 16.—Sixty women and maids, twenty-six children, and three hundred men, with victuals, arms, apparel, tools, and one hundred and forty head of cattle, etc., in the lord-treasurer's warrant (to go to New England).

It is interesting to notice with what care they provided for the ministry. The following is a true note of the allowance that the New England Company gave by common consent and order of their court and council, granted unto Mr. Francis Higginson, minister, for his maintenance in New England, April 8, 1629.

1. *IMPRIMIS*, that £30 in money shall be forthwith paid him by the company's treasurer towards the chardges of fitting himself with apparell and other necessaryes for his voyage.

2. Item, that £10 more shall be paid over by the said treasurer, towards the providing of books for present use.

3. Item, that he shall have £30 yearly paid him for three years, to beginne from the tyme of his first arrival in New England; and so to be accounted and paid him at the end of every yeare.

4. Item, that during the said tyme the company shall provide for him and his family necessaryes of diett, housing, and firewood; and shall be att charges of transporting him into New England. And at the end of the said three years, if he shall not like to continue there any longer, to be at the charge of transporting him back for England.

5. Item, that in convenient tyme an house shall be built, and certayne lands allotted thereunto, which during his stay in the country and continuance in the ministry, shall bee for his use; and after his death, or removal, the same to be for succeeding ministers.

6. Item, at the expiration of the said three years an hundred acres of land shall be assigned to him and his heirs for ever.

7. Item, that in case he shall depart this life in that country, the said company shall take care for his widow during her widowhood and abode in that

neous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion. Thirty copies of the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being written out for the use of thirty persons, who were to begin the work.

When the 6th of August came, it was kept as a day of fasting and prayer, in which, after the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, in the end of the day, the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read, the forenamed persons did solemnly profess their consent thereunto; and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr. Skelton pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher of the church there. Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plimouth, and some others with him, coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right-hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings. After which, at several times, many others joined to the church in the same way. The confession of faith and covenant, forementioned, was acknowledged only as a direction,* pointing unto that faith and covenant contained in the Holy Scripture, and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but only to the substance, end, and scope of the matter contained therein. And for the circumstantial manner of joining to the church, it was ordered according to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, together with the liberty and ability of any person.

country and plantation, and the like for his children whilst they remain upon the said plantation.

8. Item, that the milk of two kyne shall be appointed towards the chardges of diett for him and his familye as aforesaid, and half the increase of calves during the said three years: But the said two kyne, and the other half of the increase to return to the company at the end of the said three years.

9. Item, that he shall have liberty of carrying over bedding, linen, brass, iron, pewter, of his owne, for his necessary use during the said tyme.

10. Item, that if he continue seven years upon the said plantation, that then one hundred acres of land more shall be allotted him for him and his for ever.

* For a copy of this confession and covenant, see the Appendix, A.

Hence it was, that some were admitted by expressing their consent to that written confession of faith and covenant; others did answer to questions about the principles of religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their confession in writing, which was read for them; and some, that were able and willing, did make their confession in their own words and way; a due respect was also had unto the conversations of men, namely, that they were without scandal. But some of the passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the ministers did not at all use the book of common prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble; of these Mr. Samuel Brown and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the book of common prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governor, Mr. Endicot, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, etc., but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither separatists nor anabaptists, they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much from their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposi-

tion of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governor and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers' answer; and therefore finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them, that New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings both against the governor and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.

The two ministers there being seriously studious of reformation, they considered of the state of their children, together with their parents; concerning which, letters did pass between Mr. Higginson and Mr. Brewster, the reverend elder of the church at Plimouth, and they did agree in their judgments, namely, concerning the church membership of the children with their parents; and that baptism was a seal of their membership; only when they were adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the church officers, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the children's public and personally owning of the covenant, they were to be received unto the Lord's supper. Accordingly, Mr. Higginson's eldest son, being about fifteen years of age, was owned to have been received a member together with his parents, and being privately examined by the pastor, Mr. Skelton, about his knowledge in the principles of religion, he did present him before the church when the Lord's supper was to be administered, and the child, then publicly and personally owning the covenant of the God of his father, he was admitted unto the Lord's supper; it being then professedly owned, according to 1 Cor. vii. 14; that the children of the church are holy unto the Lord as well as their parents, accordingly the parents owning and retaining the baptism, which they themselves received in their infancy, in their native land, as they had any children born, baptism was administered unto them, namely, to the children of such as were members of that particular church.

Mr. Higginson lived but one year after the settling of the church there, departed this life about the same time the next year, in the month of August, 1630.* Mr. Skelton lived until the year 1634, when he also quietly slept in the Lord, and were both buried at Salem. As it is an honor to be in Christ before others, as in Rom. xvi., so also to be first in the Lord's work, and to be faithful in it, as these two holy men were, who made such a beginning in church reformation, as was afterwards followed by many others.

In the year 1634, Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plimouth to Salem; he had lived about three years at Plimouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismissal to the church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder there, fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being many abler men in the bay, they would better deal with him than themselves could, and foreseeing, what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, which afterwards came to pass, that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the se-baptist at Amsterdam had done; the church of Plimouth consented to his dismissal, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long after Mr. Williams was come, whereupon after some time, the church there called him

* Rev. Francis Higginson received his education at Emanuel College, Cambridge. His talents, acquirements, and character brought him the offer of some of the best livings in England, but his scruples of non-conformity would not suffer him to accept them. He was a man of eminent talents, indued with grace, apt to teach, mighty in the Scriptures, learned in the tongues, able to convince gainsayers. He was courteous and obliging, and uncommonly popular as a preacher. He died at the age of forty-three.—*Annals of Salem*, p. 43.

to office; but he having in one year's time, filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion, either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate; and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither, and therefore he admonished any church members that had done so, as for heinous sin; also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony; also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table, but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution.

And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him, in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, Newtown, (now Cambridge,) etc., accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers did acknowledge their error and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errors and miscarriages, and, notwithstanding all the court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, in-somuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly,

the scope of which was to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them. The more prudent and sober part of the church, being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, inso-much as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of the church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, of which number were divers women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, inso-much as he kept a meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to the church assembly there; which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth.*

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church at Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the perse-

* The Plymouth colonists seemed to have more consistent views of religious liberty and toleration than the Massachusetts'. Gov. Hutchinson says, "When Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents were banished from that colony, they applied to the colony of Plymouth for leave to settle upon Aquidnick, or Rhode Island, which was then acknowledged to be within Plymouth patent, and it was readily granted, although their tenets were no more approved by Plymouth than Massachusetts. Some of the Quakers also fled to Plymouth bounds, and probably saved their lives, for although they made laws severe enough against erroneous opinions, yet in no case capital. — See *Gov. Hutch. Hist.* vol. 2, p. 421.

cution that was against him; some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; and so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God anywhere upon earth.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable apostasy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from, and forsaking the churches of Christ, and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God to run such a course as he hath done; wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall, 1 Cor. x. 12; as also to be a motive to the saints to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes an able dispenser of the word of God, and, in several respects of an exemplary conversation.

And yet that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times to prevent the growth of errors, and of the exercises of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet further to insert this passage; that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a public admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams, and the erring part of the church. The title of the writing was,

Errors in doctrine maintained by some of the brethren of the church of Salem, tending to the disturbance of religion and peace, in family, church, and commonwealth, namely,

1. That it is not lawful to call upon an unregenerate man to pray for himself.

2. It is not lawful for a regenerate man to pray with his carnal family.

3. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from unregenerate men.

4. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from the body of their subjects, though regenerate, and members of churches.

5. It is not lawful for magistrates to punish the breaches of the first table, unless thereby the civil peace of the commonwealth be disturbed.

Whence also it follows, and is confessed,

That a church wholly declining into arianism, papism, familism, or other heresies, being admonished, and convinced thereof by other churches, and not reforming, may not be reformed by the civil magistrate, in a way of civil justice, unless it break the civil peace.

These errors were solidly confuted, and the contrary truths asserted, by the word of God, in that writing which was subscribed by

JOHN COTTON, *Teacher of the church of Boston.*

THOMAS OLIVER, } *Elders of the same church.*
THOMAS LEVERETT, }

Mr. Wilson the pastor of the church being at that time absent upon a voyage to England.*

* As of Gorton, so of Roger Williams, the early narratives vary, and it is difficult for us, at this day, to form a correct estimate of the character of these men. Some allowance is doubtless to be made from the false notions then generally prevalent on toleration, and the connection of civil and religious affairs, as also from the excitement arising from their peculiar state and cir-

1630.

This year it pleased God, of his rich grace, to transport over into the bay of the Massachusetts divers honorable personages, and many worthy Christians, whereby the Lord began in a manifest manner and way to make known the great thoughts which he had of planting the gospel in this remote and barbarous wilderness, and honoring his own way

cumstances. Looking at them from our standpoint, we qualify somewhat the early statements on both sides. While we are led to believe that Roger Williams's conduct was sometimes censurable, and that he gave just occasion for suspicions and complaints, we must also think that the complaints and treatment of him were quite too severe. With his faults, it must be admitted also, that there was much to approve and to admire in his character. On the question of religious liberty and toleration, he was doubtless greatly in the advance of his day.

But he advanced some sentiments on religious subjects, and in regard to the patent, which occasioned him great opposition and trouble. And as Judge Davis says, "His opinions had reference to topics of so much interest, that we must expect to meet a bias of considerable strength in those who oppose, and in those who defend him." Gov. Bradford's statement regarding Williams is as reliable and correct probably as any that can be found. On the whole he thought well of Williams.

As found on the church records at Plymouth, Bradford says, "Roger Williams, a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment, came over first to the Massachusetts, but upon some discontent, left the place and came hither (to Plymouth), when he was freely entertained according to our poor ability, and exercised his gifts among us, and after some time, was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God, and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agree with the truth. He this year fell into some strange opinions, and from opinions to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly; yet afterwards sued for his dismissal to the church of Salem, which was granted with some caution to them concerning him; but he soon fell into more things there both to their and the government's trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name particulars, they are too well known now to all, though for a time the church here went under some hard censures by his occasion from some that afterwards smarted themselves, but he is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter, and desire

of instituted worship, causing such and so many to adhere thereunto, and fall upon the practice thereof; among the rest, a chief one amongst them was that famous pattern of piety and justice, Mr. John Winthrop, the first governor of the jurisdiction, accompanied with divers other precious sons of Sion, which might be compared to the most fine gold.* Amongst whom, also, I might name that reverend and worthy man, Mr. John Wilson, eminent for love and zeal; he likewise came over this year, and bare a great share of the difficulties of these new beginnings, with great cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit. They came over with a fleet of ten ships, three of them arriving first at Salem, in which several of the chiefest of them came, who repaired, sundry of them, in some short time, into the bay of the Massachusetts; the other seven ships arrived at Charlestown, where it pleased the Lord to exercise them with much sickness, and being destitute of housing and shelter, and lying up and down in booths, some of them languished and died. Yea, it pleased God to take away amongst the rest that blessed servant of Christ, Mr. Isaac Johnson, with his lady, soon after their arrival, with sundry other precious saints.

the Lord to show him his errors, and reduce him into the way of truth, and give him a settled judgment and constancy in the same, for I hope he belongs to the Lord."

For further particulars of Williams, see Hutchinson's Hist. vol. i. 40, 41, 113, 131; Winthrop's Journal; Mass. Hist. Coll.; Callender's Hist. R. I.; Felt's Eccl. History of New England and Memoir, by Prof. Knowles.

* March 8, 1630. Mr. Sherley of London writes to Gov. Bradford, "Those who came in May and those now sent, must some while be chargeable to you and us." "This is another company of our Leyden friends, who arrived at the latter end of May, and the charge of this last company comes to above £550, for transporting them from Holland to England, their lying there, with clothing and passage hither, besides the fetching them from Salem and the bay, where they and their goods are landed, all which the New Plymouth undertakers pay gratis, besides providing them housing, preparing them ground, and maintaining them with food sixteen months before they have a harvest of their own, which comes to near as much more; a rare example of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises to their brethren, even beyond their power."—*Bradford in Prince*, 272.

This sickness being heavy upon them, caused the principal of them to propose to the rest to set a day apart to seek the Lord, for the assuaging of his displeasure therein, as also for direction and guidance in the solemn enterprise of entering into church fellowship; which solemn day of humiliation was observed by all, not only of themselves, but also by their brethren at Plimouth in their behalf;* and the Lord was entreated not only to assuage the sickness, but also encouraged their hearts to a beginning, and in some short time after to a further progress in the great work of erecting a way of worshipping of Christ in church fellowship, according to primitive institution. Those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow-soldiers that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness, promising all helpfulness even out of their own estates, according to their power; and their said brethren at Plimouth were persuaded they spake as they thought in their hearts; for, such was the simplicity of those times, as that divers faces were not carried under a hood; pride, covetousness, profaneness, and sinful self, were ashamed to be seen, except in obscure places and persons. O poor New England! consider what thou wast, and what thou now art! Repent and do thy first works, saith the Lord! So may thy peace be as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea, Isa. xlviii. 18, 19. So be it. But to return.

The first that began in the work of the Lord above mentioned, were their honored governor, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, forenamed, that much honored gentleman, Mr. Thomas Dudley, and Mr. John Wilson, aforesaid; these four were the first that began that honorable church of Boston, unto whom there joined many other. The same year also

* The day of humiliation was Friday, July 30. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Fuller, being on a mission at Salem, from Plymouth church, with Mr. Allerton, write to their friends on this subject, July 26, 1630. — *Hist. Coll.* iii. 76.

Mr. George Phillips,* who was a worthy servant of Christ and dispenser of his word, began a church fellowship at Watertown; as did also Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham at Dorchester, the same day.

Thus, out of small beginnings, greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone unto many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise in all ages.†

* See Appendix for his descendants.

† Mr. Prince transcribes from "The Book of Charters," a patent granted January 13, 1630, from "the Council for New England," to "William Bradford and his associates and assigns, all that part of New England between Cohasset rivulet towards the north, and Narraganset river towards the south, the Western Ocean towards the east, (the Atlantic was then so called,) and between a straight line directly extending up into the main land towards the west, from the mouth of Narraganset river to the utmost bounds of a country in New England called Pacanokit, alias Sawamset westward, and another like straight line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river towards the west, so far into the main land westward, as the utmost limits of the said Pacanokit or Sawamset entered;" also a tract of land fifteen miles on each side of Kennebeck river, which they afterwards sold.

The patent recites that the grantees "had lived nine years in New England, had planted a town called New Plymouth, at their own charges, and by the special providence of God, and their extraordinary care and industry, had increased their plantations to near three hundred people, and are, on all occasions, able to relieve any new planters, or others of his majesty's subjects who may fall on that coast." It gives them "all the *right* and *interest* which the said *council* had or ought to have thereto, with liberty to trade with the natives, and fish in the seas adjoining," and "liberty to make orders, ordinances, and constitutions not contrary to the laws of England, for their better government, and to put the same in execution, by such officers as they shall authorize and depute."—*Prince*, 268, 269.

The reader will be very likely to inquire what "*right* and *interest*" this *council* had, which they here undertook to convey? The following is taken from *Prince*, 180:—

"Nov. 3, about a week before of their (the Pilgrims) arriving at Cape Cod, king James signs a patent for the incorporation of the adventurers to the northern colonies of Virginia, between 40 and 48 degrees north, being the duke Lenox. The marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and Sir F. Gorges, with thirty-four others, and their succes-

1631.

This year the reverend and useful instrument Mr. John Eliot came over, and not long after Mr. Weld, who began a church society at Roxbury; as likewise good old Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Warham began one at Dorchester.*

1632.†

This year one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being, as himself said, descended of the house of Gardiner, bishop of Winches-

sors, styling them 'The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing, New England in America,' which is the great and civil basis of all the future patents and plantations which divide this country."

"Oct. 1630. The first execution in Plymouth colony; which is a matter of great sadness to us, is of one John Billington, for waylaying and shooting John Newcomen, a young man, in the shoulder, whereof he died. The said Billington was one of the profanest among us. He came from London, and I know not by what friends, shuffled into our company. We used all due means about his trial; he was found guilty both by grand and petty jury, and we took the advice of Mr. Winthrop and others, the ablest gentlemen in Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood." — *Ibid.* 320.

* The Rev. John Warham, first minister of Windsor, Ct., was an eminent preacher at Exeter; the Rev. John Maverick, lived about forty miles from that city. Mr. Maverick died at Boston, in February, 1636; a large part of his society had, just before, removed to Windsor, in Connecticut, and it was his intention to follow them. Mr. Warham accompanied those of his people who removed to Connecticut, and died at Windsor in 1670. "I suppose," says Dr. Mather, "the first preacher that ever preached with notes, in our New England, was the reverend Warham, who, though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men, who had never heard him, yet, when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable energy of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them, who have been applauded for never looking into a book in their lives." — *Allen's Biog. Dict., Hist. Coll.* ix. 127-199; *Life of John Eliot*; *Hist. Coll.* viii. 5-36.

† This year (1632), the general court of Plymouth colony make an extraordinary act, that whoever refuses the office of governor shall pay twenty

ter, who was so great a persecutor of God's saints in Queen Mary's days, arrived in New England; he being a great traveller received his first honor of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made a knight at the sepulchre there. He came into these parts in pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to join to the church in sundry places; he brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin; but it was suspected that, after the Italian manner, she was his concubine. He living at the Massachusetts, for some miscarriages for which he should have answered, fled away from authority, and got amongst the Indians in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. The governor of the Massachusetts sent after him, but could not get him, and promised some reward to those that should find him. The Indians came to the governor of Plimouth, and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him, but the said governor told them no, they should not kill him by no means, but if they could take him alive and bring him to Plimouth, they should be paid for their pains; they said he had a gun and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him, but the governor aforesaid told them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity and take him and so they did, for when they light on him by a river side, he got into a canoe to get from them, and when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock, and threw both him and his piece, and the rapier into the water, yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him; but getting long poles, they soon beat the dagger out of his hand; so he was glad to yield, and they

pounds sterling, unless he were chosen two years going, and whoever refuses the office of councillor or magistrate, ten pounds." — *Prince*, 411.

"Mr. Bradford having been governor near twelve years, now, by importunity, gets off (1633)." — *Prince*, 411, 423.

brought him to the governor at Plimouth, but his hands and arms were swelled very sore with the blows they had given him; so he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again, and blamed the Indians for beating him so much. They said they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those that made his bed found a little note-book, that by accident had slipped out of his pocket, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope or church of Rome, and in what university he took his scapula, and such and such a degree; it being brought to the governor, he kept it and sent it to the governor of the Massachusetts, with word of his taking, who sent for him; but afterwards he went for England and showed his malice against New England, but God prevented him; of which I thought meet to insert a letter from Mr. Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts, to Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plimouth, in reference to this matter, as also the copy of an order relating to the same as followeth. And first of the letter: —

SIR,

Upon a petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, etc., against you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council, and afterwards reported to the king; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here; the passages are admirable and too long to write. I heartily wish for an opportunity to impart them unto you, being many sheets of paper; but the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose, God willing, to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God,* (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you

* The thanksgiving proposed by Governor Winthrop, was kept on the 19th of June. — *Winth. Jour.*

to join in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve. The copy of the order follows.

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Trevers,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Lord Viscount Falkland,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Lord Cottingham,	

Whereas his majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America, called New England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonor of this kingdom, and utter ruin of that plantation; for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intention of those patents which have been granted by his majesty, and from his late royal father, king James; it hath pleased his majesty, that the lords and others of his most honorable privy council should take the same into consideration; their lordships, in the first place, thought fit to make a committee of this board, to take examination of the matters informed; which committee having called divers of the principal adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at present their lordships finding they were upon despatch of men, victuals, and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good

opinion of that plantation; their lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the general government, or principal adventurers, which in due time is further to be inquired into; have thought fit, in the mean time, to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, etc.*

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.

1633.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Doan, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, and Mr. William Gilson, were chosen to be his assistants in government.†

* See Prince, October 25, 1632.

† "Mr. Edward Winslow chosen governor of Plimouth, Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten years, and now by importunity got off." — *Winth. Jour.* 47.

The great swamp mentioned in this narrative was in Pembroke. The great river is supposed to be what is now called North river. Ludham's ford was probably in Hanover, about fourteen miles from Plymouth. Massagascus was probably written Wissagasscus; and indicates the place which was commonly called Wessagussett. In August, 1635, "Wessagasscus was made a plantation, and Mr. Hall a minister, and twenty-one families with him, allowed to sit down there — after called Weymouth." — *Winth. Jour.* 84. The term prophesying, in the sense intended by Governor Winthrop, in his account of the religious exercises at Plymouth, has become obsolete. It originated in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Puritans maintained frequent religious exercises, in which texts of Scripture were interpreted or discussed,

The plantation of Plimouth, having had some former converse with the Dutch, as hath been hinted, they seeing them seated in a barren quarter, told them of a river called by them the fresh river,* which they often commended unto them for a good place, both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it; but their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass; but afterwards, there coming a company of Indians into these parts, that were driven out of their country by the potency of the Pequots, they solicited them to go thither. These Indians not seeing them very forward to entertain the motion, which they moved with great ardency, they solicited them of the government of the Massachusetts in like sort, but they being then not fit to entertain the motion, in respect that they were newly come into the country, did not much regard it. Notwithstanding, some of the chief made a motion to join some here in a way of trade at the same river; on which a meeting was appointed to treat concerning the same matter, and some of Plimouth appointed to give them meeting, which they did, but they cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and the like, on which they of the Massachusetts declined the thing, and did not proceed therein. Whereupon those of Plimouth went alone, and prepared a frame of an house, and stowed it into a bark, ready to rear at their landing, and went up the said river and reared their said house, and fenced it about with a palisado, which was done with great difficulty, not only of the Dutch, but also of the Indians; notwithstanding the place they possessed themselves of was such as the Dutch had nothing to do with, and likewise was bought of the Indians which they carried with them. And this was Plimouth's entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were.

This year it pleased God to visit Plimouth with an infectious

one speaking to the subject, after another, in an orderly method. This was called prophesying, in reference to 1 Cor. xv. 31. Ye all may prophesy, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. — *Neal's Hist. Puritans*, i. 184.

* Which is the same called Connecticut river. — M.

fever, of which many fell very sick, and upwards of twenty died, men, women, and children, and sundry of them were of their ancient friends ; * amongst the rest, Mr. Samuel Fuller then died, after he had much helped others, and was a comfort to them ; he was their surgeon and physician, and did much good in his place, being not only useful in his faculty, but otherwise, as he was a godly man, and served Christ in the office of a deacon in the church for many years, and forward to do good in his place, and was much missed after God removed him out of this world.

This sickness caused much sadness amongst them, and, according to their duty, they besought the Lord by fasting and prayer, and he was entreated of them, and towards winter the sickness ceased. This sickness, being a kind of pestilent fever, swept away also many of the Indians from places near adjoining to Plimouth.

It is to be observed, that the spring before this sickness, there was a numerous company of flies, which were like for bigness unto wasps or bumblebees ; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and ready to deafen the hearers ; they were not any of them heard or seen by the English in the country before this time ; but the Indians told them that sickness would follow, and so it did, very hot, in the months of June, July, and August of that summer.†

* One of these "ancient friends," who died at this time, was Mr. Thomas Blossom. — *Prince*, ii. 96. Some of his letters from Leyden may be seen in *Hist. Collections*, vol. iii. On his arrival at Plymouth, he was elected a deacon of the church. — *Cotton's Hist. of Plymouth Church* ; *Hist. Coll.* iv. 111. Mr. Cotton places his death, with that of his associate, Mr. Masterton, before 1630. But Mr. Prince, who quotes Governor Bradford's MS. relative to the sickness of 1633, is probably correct.

† Prince says, "they are known by the name of *locusts*." The prevailing opinion is, that they make their appearance *Septem decennially*, and this seems to be confirmed by long observation. Their chrysalis state seems not to be known, and probably they have several transmutations during the long interval of their appearance. By what means they make "such a yelling

This year there arrived in New England, those three worthy instruments, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Thomas Hooker, and Mr. Samuel Stone, who were gospel preachers, of excellent worth and use in their places, until God took them out of the world unto himself.

This year likewise, Mr. William Collier arrived with his family in New England, who, as he had been a good benefactor to the colony of New Plimouth, before he came over, having been an adventurer unto it at its first beginning, so, also, he approved himself a very useful instrument, in that jurisdiction, after he arrived, being frequently chosen, and for divers years serving God and the country in the place of magistracy, and lived a godly and holy life, until old age, which to him is a crown of glory, being found in the way of righteousness.*

"1634.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. His assistants in government were Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins.

In the spring of this year there fell a very great sickness of the smallpox amongst the Indians, so as they died most miserably of it; for a sorer disease cannot come amongst them,

noise" seems not to be well agreed. But as to their "eating up the green things," this is a mistake. They pitch upon the young branches of oak trees generally, and with a kind of chisel in their posterior, they penetrate and split the limb and deposit their *ova* in the pith, and in a short time the limb breaks, and the leaves die, and give the appearance of being eaten. The end of the limb falls to the ground, the *ova* produces the worm, which enters the earth, and the locusts in due time return. It does not appear that they have any kind of nourishment during their appearance, unless it be the dew or rain. See Dobson's *Encyclopædia*.

* "This year a small gleane of rye was brought to the court, (in Massachusetts,) as the first-fruits of English graine, at which the poor people greatly rejoiced, to see the land would bear it." — *Johnson's Wond. Work. Prov.* 61.

and they dread it more than the plague itself; for, usually, those of them which have this disease, have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linen, and other necessities, fall into a lamentable condition; for, as they lie on their hard mats, the pock breaking and running one into another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the mats they lie on, when they turn them, much of their skin flays off at once, and they will be all on a gore of blood, most sad and grievous to behold; and then, being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.

This year one Capt. Stone, who had sometimes lived at Christophers, in the West Indies, came into these parts; of whom I have nothing to speak in the way of commendation, but rather the contrary. After he had been to and fro in the country, he returned towards Virginia, with one Capt. Norton; and so it was, that, as they returned, they went into Connecticut river, where the Indians killed the said Stone as he lay in his cabin, and threw a covering over him. They likewise killed all the rest of his company, but the said Capt. Norton, he defending himself a long time in the cook-room of the bark, until, by accident, the gunpowder took fire, which for readiness he had set in an open thing before him, which did so burn and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slain also by them, and they made a prey of his goods.

It is to be observed, that the said Stone, being at the Dutch plantation, in the fore part of this year, a certain bark of Plimouth being there likewise on trading, he kept company with the Dutch governor, and made him drunk, and got leave of him, in his drunkenness, to take the said bark, without any occasion or cause given him; and so, taking his time when the merchant and some of the chief of the men were on shore, with some of his own men, made the rest of them weigh anchor, and set sail to carry her away to Virginia; but some of the Dutch seamen, who had been at Plimouth, and received kindness, seeing this horrible abuse, got a vessel or two and pursued them, and brought them back. After this he came into the Massachusetts Bay, where they commenced suit against

him; but by the mediation of some it was taken up,* and afterwards, in the company of some gentlemen, he came to Plimouth, and was kindly entertained; but revenge boiling in his breast, as some conceived, he watched a season to have stabbed the governor, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by God's providence, ordering the vigilance of some that were about him, he was prevented; but God met with him for these and other wickednesses, as hath been before related.†

* Captain Standish repaired to Boston, to accuse Stone of piracy, and the offender was required to give surety to appear in the Admiralty in England. "But after," says Gov. Winthrop, "those of Plimouth, being persuaded it would turn to their reproach, and that it would be no piracy, we withdrew the cognizancy." — *Winth. Jour.* 50.

† Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plymouth, with Mr. Smith, their pastor, came to Boston by water, to confer with some of our magistrates and ministers about their case of Kennebeck. There met hereabout Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson, and after they had sought the Lord, they fell first upon some passages which they had taken some offence at, but those were soon cleared. Then for the matter itself, it fell into these two points: first, whether their right of trade there were such, as they might lawfully hinder others from coming there: second, admitting that, whether in point of conscience they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence of it.

For the first, their right appeared to be good; for that, besides the king's grant, they had taken up that place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued without interruption or claim of any of the natives, for divers years, and also had, by their charge and providence, drawn down thither the greatest part of the trade, by carrying wampampeage thither, which none of the English had known the use of before. For the second, they alleged, that their servant did kill Hockin to save other of their men, whom he was ready to have shot. Yet they acknowledged that they did hold themselves under guilt of the breach of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by other means, which they rather acknowledged; because they wished it were not done; and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like. — *Winthrop's Hist. N. E.* p. 162.

"One pleasant passage," says Gov. Winthrop, "happened, which was acted by the Indians this year. Mr. Winslow coming in his bark from Connecticut to Narraganset, and left her there, and intending to return by land, he went to Osamequin, the Sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him to Plymouth; but before they took their journey, Osamequin sent one of

1635.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow took a voyage for England, on public occasions, and it came to pass that he had occasion to answer some complaints made against the country at the council board; more chiefly concerning the Massachusetts jurisdiction, which he did to good effect, and further prosecuted such things as might tend to the good of the whole; in particular, he preferred a petition to the right honorable the lords commissioners for the plantations in America, in reference unto some injuries done by the French and Dutch unto the country; which petition found good acceptance, and was in a way to a satisfactory answer. But sundry adversaries interposed, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the churches, at least to disturb their peace, and hinder their growth; but, by God's providence, it so fell out in the end, that although those adversaries crossed the petition from taking any further effect, in the end principally intended in it; yet by this, as a means, the whole plot was discovered, and those adversaries came to nothing. The particulars whereof are too long here to be inserted.

This year, on Saturday, the fifteenth day of August, was such a mighty storm of wind and rain, as none now living in these parts, either English or Indian, had seen the like; being like unto those hurricanes, or tuffins, that writers mention to

his men to Plimouth, to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead, and directed him to show how and where he was killed; whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plimouth. The next day, when Osamequin brought him home, they asked him why he sent such word, etc., he answered that it was their manner to do so, that they might be more welcome when they came home."—*Winth. Hist. N. E.* p. 165.

be in the Indies. It began in the morning a little before day, and grew not by degrees, but came with great violence in the beginning, to the great amazement of many. It blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others; divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plimouth, as that it arose to twenty foot right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into trees for their safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, the which, through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst; and the tall young oaks, and walnut trees, of good bigness, were wound as a withe by it, very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the south-east, and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it, at Plimouth, was from the former quarter; it continued not in extremity above five or six hours before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years, in those parts where it was sorest. The moon suffered a great eclipse two nights after it.*

* "In the same tempest a bark of Mr. Allerton's was cast away upon Cape Ann, and twenty-one persons drowned; among the rest one Mr. Avery, a minister in Wiltshire, a godly man, with his wife and six small children, were drowned. None were saved but one Mr. Thatcher and his wife, who were cast on shore and preserved."

The general court gave Mr. Thatcher £26 13s. 4d., toward his losses, and divers good people gave him besides. Mr. Thatcher was the uncle of the Rev. Thomas Thatcher, who came over with him in the *James*, 1635, and who was ordained pastor of the church at Weymouth, January 2, 1645, and installed the first pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, February 16, 1670. He was the progenitor of the long line of clergymen who have distinguished the name of Thatcher. Cotton Mather says, that a day or two before that fatal voyage from Newbury to Marblehead, our young Thatcher (the same Thomas Thatcher) had such a strong and sad impression upon his

1636.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year the towns on the river of Connecticut began to be planted,* and in transporting of goods thither, from the Massachusetts Bay, two shallops were cast away, loaded with goods to go thither, in an easterly storm, at the mouth of Plimouth harbor; the boat's men were all lost, not so much as any of their bodies found for burial, they being five in number in both boats. The principal of them was one Mr. William Cooper, an ancient seaman, of known skill, having formerly been master of a ship, and had gone great voyages to the East Indies, and to other parts; but the night being dark and stormy, they ran upon the skirt of a flat that lieth near the mouth of the harbor, and so were overraked; the goods came on shore along the harbor, and the governor caused a careful course to be taken for the preservation of them, in the behalf of the right owners, who afterwards received so many of them as were saved.

Now followeth the tragedy of the war that fell betwixt the English and the Pequots, which I will relate according to my best intelligence; in order whereunto I thought good to men-

mind, about the issue of the voyage, that he, with another, would needs go the journey by land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious friends by sea.—*Young's Chron. Mass.* 594. See also *Ibid.* p. 486–495 for a full account of this shipwreck.

* “Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, and the rest of his congregation, went to Connecticut; his wife was carried in a horse-litter; and they took 160 cattle, and fed of their milk by the way.”—*Winth. Hist. N. E.* p. 223. There was a previous emigration in 1635, from Dorchester and Watertown. Hartford was settled by the company from Newtown. The Watertown people seated themselves at Wethersfield. Those from Dorchester selected a place afterward called Windsor.

tion some particulars first, that by discerning the whole matter, in the several parts and circumstances, the more of the mercy and goodness of God may be taken notice of to his praise, for destroying so proud and blasphemous an enemy.*

In the year 1634, the Pequots, a stout and warlike people, who had made war with sundry of their neighbors, and being puffed up with many victories, grew now at variance with the Narragansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narragansets held correspondence and terms of friendship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now the Pequots being conscious of the guilt of Capt. Stone's death, whom they knew to be an Englishman, as also those that were with him, and being fallen out with the Dutch, lest they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the English of the Massachusetts, and for that end, sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the governor of the Massachusetts to the governor of Plimouth, as followeth:—

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,

To let you know something of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much wampum and beaver, etc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with the next we had divers days' conference, and taking the advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions, That they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's death, etc., and if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us, and we would send to trade with them as our friends, which was the chief thing we aimed at, they being now at war with the

* The Pequots were the most warlike tribe of New England. Those who wish to examine the history of this truly barbarous war in which the whole tribe was extirpated, may find it well written in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, ch. 5. See also Holmes's *Annals*, p. 297; and *Hist. Coll.* p. 273-293. The tribe inhabited the present county of New London, Conn., and their fort was on the river, between Stonington and Groton.

Dutch, and the rest of their neighbors. To this they readily agreed; and that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narragansets, for which end they were content we should give the Narragansets part of the present they would bestow on us; for they stood so much on their honor, as they would not be seen to give any thing of themselves. As for Capt. Stone, they told us there were but two left of those who had any hand in his death, and that they killed him in a just quarrel; for, said they, he surprised two of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to show him the way up the river, and he, with two others, coming on shore, nine Indians watched them, and when they were asleep in the night they killed them, to deliver their own men; and some of them, going afterwards to the bark, it was suddenly blown up. We are now preparing a bark to send unto them.*

Yours, ever assured,

JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, March 12, 1634.

Not long after these things, Mr. John Oldman, of whom much is spoken before, being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went, with a small vessel, and slenderly manned, on trading on those south parts; and, upon a quarrel between him and the Indians, was cut off by them, in such manner as hath been forenoted, at an island called by the Indians Manisses, by the English, Block Island. This, with the former, about the death of Stone, and the baffling of the Pequots with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to take revenge, and to require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it took little effect; some of the murderers of Mr. Oldham fled to the Pequots, and although the English went to the Pequots, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them; and the English returned without doing any thing to purpose,

* And in another letter he saith, "our bark is lately returned from the Pequots, and our men put off but little commodities, and found them to be a very false people, so we mean to have no more to do with them." — M.

being frustrated of their opportunity by their deceit. After the English of the Massachusetts were returned, the Pequots took their time and opportunity to cut off some of the English at Connecticut, as they passed up and down upon their occasions; and tortured some of them, in putting them to death in the most barbarous manner, and most blasphemously, in this their cruelty, bade them call upon their God, or mocked and derided them when they so did; and, not long after, assaulted them at their houses and habitations, as will appear more fully in the ensuing relation.

1637.

In the forepart of this year, the Pequots fell openly upon the English at Connecticut, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, as they were at work in the fields, both men and women, to the great terror of the rest; and went away in great pride and triumph with many threats. They also assaulted Saybrook fort, at the mouth of the river of Connecticut, although it was strong and well defended. It struck them with much fear and astonishment, to see their bold attempts in the face of danger, which made them in all places to stand upon their guard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solicit their friends and confederates in the Massachusetts Bay, to send them speedy aid, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane, being then governor of that jurisdiction, writ from their general court to the governor and court of New Plimouth, to join with them in this war, to which they were cordially willing. In the mean time, before things could be prepared for to set out, the Pequots, as they had done the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansets, and used many pernicious arguments to move them thereunto, as that the English were strangers, and began to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase; and if the Narragansets did assist the English to subdue them, that did but make way for their own overthrow; for if they were

rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would hearken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in ambush for them, as they went abroad upon their occasions, and all this they might easily do with little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English would not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or forced to forsake the country; with many like things, insomuch that the Narragansets were once wavering, and were half minded to have made peace with them, and joined against the English; but again, when they considered how much wrong they had received from the Pequots, and what an opportunity they had now, by helping the English to right themselves, revenge was so sweet to them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to join with the English against them, and so did. The court of Plimouth agreed to find fifty men at their own charge, and with as much speed as possible they could get them in readiness, under sufficient leaders, and provided a bark to carry their provisions, and to tend upon them on all occasions, and when they were ready to march with a supply from the bay, they had word sent them to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished, and there would be no need.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in this war, because possibly it hath been done by themselves that were actors therein, and best knew the circumstances of things; I shall therefore set them down in the main and general, according to my best intelligence.

From Connecticut, who were most sensible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger, they set out a party of men, and another party met them from the Massachusetts Bay, at the Narragansets, who were to join them. The Narragansets were very earnest to be gone, before the English were well rested and refreshed, especially some of them which came last. It should seem their desire was come upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly. There being a bark of Plimouth newly put in there, which was come from Con-

necticut, they did encourage them to lay hold of the opportunity of the Indians' forwardness, and to show as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and expedition might turn to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indians brought them to the fort of their enemy, in which most of their chief men were, before day; they approached the same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indians, that they might not break out, and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting among them, and entered the fort with great speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enemy, who both shot and grappled with them; others ran into their houses, and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their mats, and their houses standing close together, with the wind all was soon on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death than were otherwise slain. It burnt their bowstrings, and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewed to pieces, some run through with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatched, and very few escaped. The number they thus destroyed, was conceived to be above four hundred. At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud, insulting, and blasphemous an enemy. The Narragansets, all this while, stood round about aloof, off from all danger, and left the whole execution to the English, except it were the stopping any that brake away, insulting over their enemies in their ruins and misery, when they saw them dancing in the fire; calling by a word in their own language, signifying, O brave Pequots! which they used familiarly amongst themselves in their own praises, in songs of triumphs after their victories.

After this service was thus happily accomplished, the English marched to the water-side, where they met with some of

their vessels, by whom they were refreshed and supplied with victuals and other necessities; but in their march, the rest of the Pequots drew into a body, and followed them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept aloof, so as they neither did hurt nor would receive any. And after the English their refreshing and repairing together for further counsel and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow the war against the rest; but the Narragansets most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for guides or otherwise, they found very cold or backward in the business, either out of envy, or that they thought the English would make more profit of the victory than they were willing they should, or else deprive them of that advantage that they desired in making the Pequots become tributaries unto them, or the like.

For the rest of this tragedy, I shall only relate the same as in a letter from Mr. Winthrop to Mr. Bradford, as followeth:—

WORTHY SIR,

I received your loving letter, but straightness of time forbids me, for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy towards us, in our prevailing against his and our enemies, that you may rejoice and praise his name with us. About fourscore of our men, having coasted along towards the Dutch Plantation, sometimes by water but most by land, met here and there with some Pequots, whom they slew, or took prisoners. Two sachems they took and beheaded; and not hearing of Sasacus, the chief sachem, they gave a prisoner his life to go and find him out; he went and brought them word where he was; but Sasacus suspecting him to be a spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him; yet dividing themselves, and ranging up and down, as the providence of God guided them, for the Indians were all gone, save three or four, and they knew not whither to guide them, or else would not;

upon the thirteenth of this month, they lighted upon a great company, namely, eighty strong men, and two hundred women and children, in a small Indian town, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped into, before our men could get to them.

Our captains were not then come together; but there was Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason, with some ten of their men, and Capt. Patrick, with some twenty or more of his, who, shooting at the Indians, Capt. Trask, with fifty more, came soon in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the swamp, it being about a mile round; but Lieut. Davenport, and some twelve more, not hearing that command, fell into the swamp amongst the Indians. The swamp was so thick with shrubs, and boggy withal, that some stuck fast, and received many shot.

Lieut. Davenport was dangerously wounded about his arm-hole, and another shot in the head, so as fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians; but sergeant Riggs and sergeant Jeffery, and two or three more, rescued them, and slew divers of the Indians with their swords. After they were drawn out, the Indians desired parley, and were offered by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, that if they would come out and yield themselves, they should have their lives that had not their hand in the English blood. Whereupon the sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or two, and their wives and children, and so they spake two hours, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sent to them again, to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there; and so shot at him so thick, as, if he had not been presently relieved and rescued, on his crying out, they would have slain him.

Then our men cut off a place of swamp with their swords, and cooped up the Indians into a narrow compass, so as they could easier kill them through the thickets. So they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, and the Indians, coming up close to our men, shot their arrows so thick, as they pierced their hat-brims, and

their sleeves and stockings, and other parts of their clothes; yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those three who rashly went into the swamp as aforesaid. When it was near day it grew very dark, so as those of them that were left, dropped away, though they stood but twelve or fourteen foot asunder, and were presently discovered, and some killed in the pursuit. In the searching of the swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, and some they pulled up, whom the Indians had buried in the mire; so as they do think that of all this company not twenty did escape, for they afterwards found some who died in the flight, of their wounds received. The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river, and the rest to us of these parts. We send the male children to Bermuda, by Mr. William Pierce, and the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain and taken in all, about seven hundred, the rest are dispersed, and the Indians, in all quarters, so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the sachems of Long Island came to Mr. Stoughton, and tendered themselves to be under our protection; and two of the Nepannet sachems have been with me to seek our friendship. Among the prisoners we have the wife and children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behavior. It was by her mediation, that the two English maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded we fetched soon off, by John Gallop, who came with his boat in a happy hour, to bring them victuals, and to carry their wounded men to the bark, where our chief surgeon was, with Mr. Wilson, being about eight leagues off. Our people are all in health, the Lord be praised. And although they had marched in their arms all the day, and had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found themselves so, as they could willingly have gone to such another business. The captains report, we have slain thirteen sachems, but Sasacus

and Mononotto are still living. This is the substance of what I have received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So being in much straightness of time, the ships being to depart within this four days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane; I here break off, and with hearty salutation, etc., I rest,

Your assured friend,

JOHN WINTHROP.

July 28, 1637.

To conclude the discourse of this matter, this Sasacus, the Pequot sachem, being fled to the Mohawks, they cut off his head, and some other of the chief of them, whether to satisfy the English, or rather the Narragansets, who, as I heard, hired them to do it, or for their own advantage, I know not.

And thus this war took end; the body of this people were wholly subdued, and their country taken from them, and such of its inhabitants as had escaped the heat of our revenge, by fire and sword, being nevertheless at the dispose of the conquerors, whereby the English, appointed some to the Narragansets and some to the Monhegans, under Unkas their sachem, who had been faithful and serviceable to them in this war; yet the Narragansets were not pleased that themselves had not the sole government of the captives, and have since been continually quarrelling with the Monheags, and have sometimes been plotting against the English also; but to conclude, the Pequots have since been taken under the immediate government of the English colonies, and live in their own country, being governed by such of their own, as are by the English substituted and appointed for that purpose.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. John Davenport, accompanied with divers other Christians of special eminency,

began the fourth of the united colonies in New England called New Haven,* where they erected a church of Christ, which continue in gospel order until this day, in an amiable and exemplary manner; notwithstanding they have met with divers losses and crosses, both of eminent and useful instruments, as also of a great part of their estates, as in special by the loss of Mr. Lamberton's ship. Of which said plantation and colony, I have little to insert, for want of more full and certain intelligence.

About this time there arose great troubles in the country, especially at Boston, by the broaching of antinomian and familistical opinions; the chief sect-leader thereof was one Mrs. Hutchinson. These carried on their abominable tenets, with such subtilty, under a pretence of advancing free grace, and crying up the covenant of grace, and down the covenant of works; as they took away, by their assertions, grace from the covenant; yea, so close was this mystery of iniquity carried on, as that some of the prudentest of the orthodox party, could not discern it at the first; but at length, the folly of those that were principal therein was made manifest unto all men. The evil consequences thereof faced very sadly, so as it influenced into their civil state, and caused great disturbance; but by God's blessing on the improvement of the faithful endeavors of his servants, the messengers of the churches, who were called together as a synod to help in the case; together with the prudence and industry of sundry principal ones amongst them, both in church and state at other times, a right understanding of some few things, in difference amongst the sincere and godly, was procured.† The ring-

* Called by the Dutch Rocabert, and by the Indians Quinnapiuk. — M.

This colony was united with Connecticut in 1662. Mather says, "Annexation had the concurrence of some leading men, though the minds of some others were so uneasy about coalition, that it was some time after the arrival of the charter (1665) before the union took place; for the colony, like Jephthah's daughter, took time to bewail its condition, before it would quietly be complied withal."

† "Behold what a great matter a little fire kindleth." "The contention,"

leaders of the faction being thus detected were censured, not only by the church, but by the civil power, and were also condemned to exile; who, not knowing where they might sit down safely, made requests unto the government of Plimouth, that they might be at an island, that they had not hitherto improved, called by the Indians Aquetnet, and, by the English inhabiting it, Rhode Island, which the government of Plimouth, aforesaid, considering they were their countrymen and fellow-subjects that were thus distressed and destitute of habitation, although they had their errors in as great dislike as those from whence they came, yet pitying them in their present straits, granted their request; so these, having there seated themselves, and finding that it was a very fruitful and pleasant place, such indeed as that colony or jurisdiction hath not any the like left within their patent, they soon drew many

says Dr. Mather, "spread itself into families, and from thence into all the general affairs of the public."

The questions were about the order of things in our union with our Lord Jesus Christ: about the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness: etc. Gov. Hutchinson says, the town and country was distracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman who had brains enough to form some imperfect conception, inferred and maintained some other point, such as these, "A man is justified before he believes;" "faith is no immediate cause of justification." The fear of God and love of our neighbor seemed to be laid by and out of the question. The whole church at Boston, with few exceptions, was under the influence of Mrs. Hutchinson. The account of her trial discovers nothing but what might be expected from a high degree of enthusiasm. Mr. Cotton seems to have been in danger when she was on trial. Not long after, in a sermon at a fast, he confessed and bewailed the churches, and his own security and credulity, by means of which so many dangerous errors had spread, and showed how he came to be deceived. (See Hutchinson, 59-74.) Many of the church were disfranchised and banished. Mrs. Hutchinson with others went to Rhode Island. The greater part were permitted to return, and filled places of honor and trust in church and state. Mrs. Hutchinson and her numerous family removed to some part of New York, where they, all but one, were slain by the Indians. Gov. Hutchinson says, "It is evident not only by her trial, but by many other public proceedings, that inquisition was made into men's private judgments, as well as into their declarations and practice." — vol. i. p. 75. See also Winth. Jour., Mather's Mag., Cal. Hist., and Dr. Elliot's Eccl. Hist.

more unto them, not only to fill up that island, but have also seated two more towns on the main; * therein, as is judged, encroaching upon the rights of the aforesaid colony of Plimouth, and have of late through misinformation obtained a patent, not only for the places forementioned, but have also extended it into the heart and bowels of the known and possessed rights of the said colony, endeavoring to requite their kindness, as sometimes it is said the hedgehog did by the friendly coney. But it is our great happiness, that as God takes notice from on high of the unrighteousness and oppression of the sons of men, so he hath given us a gracious Prince, who minds the peace of his meanest subjects, from whose justice and prudence we do confidently expect relief, and on that assurance, do resolve, by God's help, to contain ourselves from seeking to vindicate our wrongs in such a way as their injurious dealings might provoke unto.

This year there was a hideous monster born at Boston, in New England, of one Mrs. Mary Dyer, a copartner with the said Mrs. Hutchinson, in the aforesaid heresies; the said monster, as it was related to me, was without head, but horns like a beast, scales or a rough skin like the fish, called the thornback; it had legs and claws like a fowl, and in other respects as a woman child; the Lord declaring his detestation of their monstrous errors, as was then thought by some, by this prodigious birth.

Not long before these troubles, there arrived at Boston, one Samuel Gorton, who from thence came to Plimouth; and upon his first coming thither, gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent se-

* Roger Williams obtained a patent for Providence Plantations in 1643, but it did not extend into the heart or bounds of Plymouth colony. Probably the secretary wrote by anticipation. In 1663 the colony of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" obtained a charter which *did* so extend, by which Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, and a great part of Swansey and Barrington, which were before within the chartered limits of the Old Colony, were made part of that government. See Hutch. Hist. Mass. and Hazard's Collections.

ducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and familistical opinions; and observing such fictions to be spread by some of his spirit already in the country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sow such seed at Plimouth, whereby some were seduced, in special one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, looking for no more happiness than this world affords, not only in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said Gorton falling into some controversy with one Mr. Ralph Smith, was summoned to the court held at Plimouth, the fourth of December, 1638, to answer the said Mr. Smith's complaint; and there he carried so mutinously and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both magistrates and ministers, in the presence of the court, sentenced to find sureties for his good behavior, during the time he should stay in the jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen days, and also amerced to pay a considerable fine. In some short time after he departed to Rhode Island, and in like manner, or worse, demeaned himself there, so as they were forced to sentence him to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and they banished him likewise off the island. And from thence, he, with divers of his accomplices, went to Providence, and there he and they carried so in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused bloodshed, so as the inhabitants, some of them, namely, Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to solicit the government of the Massachusetts for aid, to help them against their insolencies; and for that end some of them desired to come under their jurisdiction, and were accepted. Moreover, several of the poor neighboring natives were so injuriously wronged by the said Gorton and his company, they seeking to bereave them of their just rights of land by surreptitious ways;* in special, Ponham and Sokanoko, two petty sachems living not far off from Provi-

* The answer of Mr. E. Winslow to Gorton's Pamphlet, entitled *Simplicity's Defence against the seven-headed Policy*, will give the reader a full and particular intelligence concerning all the transactions of those matters, and likewise of their damnable errors. — M.

dence, who were bereaved of their just rights in lands, by improving the tyranny of Miantonimok, the then chief sachem of the Narragansets, for the procuring thereof, which necessitated the said under sachems to make their appeal to the court of the Massachusetts for help in their oppressed condition, subjecting themselves and their lands unto their jurisdiction likewise; which caused the said government to require their appearance at Boston, to answer the complaints of those oppressed English and Indians. But notwithstanding they several times sent to them, with all gentleness and courteous expressions, they neither appeared, nor sent satisfying reasons for their absence; but instead thereof, many insolent, proud, railing, opprobrious returns; so that the said government saw there was no remedy, but to send force to constrain them to come; which they accordingly performed, and committed the said Gorton and several of them to ward. And during the time of their imprisonment, they carried still very proudly and audaciously towards all in place of authority, sparing not to reproach, abuse, and traduce the most honorable and reverend both in church and state; and which is yet worse, spared not blasphemously to fly upon the Lord Jesus himself, his word and ordinances, in such a manner as scarce in any age any heretics or apostates have done the like; not only abandoning and rejecting all civil power and authority, except moulded according to their own fancies, but belching out errors in their familistical allegories, if I may so call them, as, to speak with holy reverence, they rendered the Lord Christ no other than an imagination; shunning not, blasphemously, to say, that Christ was but a shadow, and resemblance of what is done in every Christian; that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was the image of God wherein Adam was created; and that his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam; that man's losing God's image was the death of Christ; that Christ is the covenant properly, and, that faith and Christ are all one. They call the holy word, and sermons of salvation, tales; the Lord's supper, an abomination, and a spell; baptism, vanity and abomination; the ministers of the

word, necromancers; and by other opprobrious terms vilify and traduce them. Much more might be spoken and mentioned of this stuff, which they have not been ashamed to divulge; but a little is enough, save but to give the reader to see the Lord's goodness towards his poor people in New England, that hath delivered us, and saved us of his grace from their pernicious, destructive ways, and hath so detected their folly, as it is made manifest to all men. In fine, the said Gorton and his fellow-prisoners were, several of them, sentenced to remain in durance, in several of the towns in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, for six months, and afterwards banished.

He was a subtle deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all, at some times, for his own ends, but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained upon the simple. To shut up what I have to say concerning him, which is sad, he is since become a sordid man in his life, as he hath been declared to be in his cursed principles and opinions, and hath not shunned to say and affirm, that all the felicity we are like to have, we must expect in this life and no more, and therefore advised one, with whom he had some speech, to make much of herself, for she must expect no more but what she could enjoy in this life, or words to the same effect. Thus evil men and deceivers grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. 2 Tim. iii. 13.*

* Gorton. There is some disagreement in the narratives of early historians respecting this man. Judge Eddy, when secretary of the state of Rhode Island, says, that he had read the records of the colony from the beginning till after the death of Gorton; that from the first establishment of the government, he was almost constantly in office, and that during his long life, there is not an instance of any reproach or censure cast upon him, or any complaint against him.

Mr. Callender, who wrote more than a century ago, says, "it is hard to tell what Gorton's religious sentiments were, as he wrote in a mysterious dialect, but that there is sufficient reason why we cannot and ought not to believe all that has been fathered upon him," and he says, "the treatment of him in Massachusetts was severe and scandalous." Gov. Hutchinson says, "the sentence against him was cruel." In a letter to Secretary Morton, after the Memorial was printed, Gorton very solemnly denies that he ever called the

1638.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Jenny, Mr. John Atwood, and Mr. John Brown, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year three men were executed for robbing and murdering an Indian near Providence, which, besides the evidence that came against them, they did in substance confess against themselves, and were condemned by legal trial. Some have thought it great severity to hang three English for one Indian; but the more considerate will easily satisfy themselves for the legality of it; and, indeed, should we suffer their murderers to go unpunished, we might justly fear that God would suffer them to take a more sharp revenge. By such arguments was the government of Plimouth moved by the government of the Massachusetts to do justice in the case. And here may be noted, that the Massachusetts refused this trial, as being committed in the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and they of Rhode Island, having apprehended them, delivered them to the aforesaid jurisdiction of Plimouth, on the same grounds.

This year, about the second of June, there was a great and fearful earthquake. It was heard before it came with a rumbling noise, or low murmur, like unto remote thunder. It came from the northward, and passed southwards. As the noise approached near, the earth began to quake; and it came

Holy Word and sermons of salvation tales, or any of the ordinances of the Lord an abomination, or holy ministers necromancers. "I appeal," says he, "to God, the judge of all secrets, that there was never such a thought entertained in my heart." We will not decide on these conflicting statements, but refer the reader to Neal's Hist. of Purit. i. p. 227; Callender's Hist. 38; Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 35, 36; Hutch. Hist. Mass. vol. i. 112-118.

Gorton lived to a great age, officiated as a minister, and published several books. He died in 1676.

at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and such like things which stood upon shelves, to clatter and fall down; yea, people were afraid of their houses; and it was so, as that some, being without doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts and pales to prevent them from falling. About half an hour after, or less, came another noise and shaking, but not so loud nor so strong as the former. It was not only on the land, but at sea also; for some ships that were on the sea-coast were shaken by it. So powerful is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to cause both the earth and sea to shake, and the mountains to tremble before him. His way is in the whirlwind, and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet; the rocks are thrown down before him. Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Nahum i, 3-6.*

1639.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen assistants.

This year Harvard College was erected at Cambridge, in New England, which was so called in remembrance of a worthy gentleman, who liberally contributed towards the charge of the erecting of it.†

* "Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Narraganset, at Piscat, and all the parts round about. It shook the ships which rode in the harbor, and all the islands. The noise and shaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after by times." — *Winth. Jour.*

† "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was, to advance learning, and perpetuate it

This year the great sachem Woosamequen, sometimes called Massasoiet, and Mooanam his son, came into the court held at Plimouth, in New England, on the five and twentieth day of September, in their own proper persons, and desired that the ancient league and confederacy formerly made with the government of Plimouth aforesaid, wherein he acknowledged himself subject to the king of England, and his successors, may stand and remain inviolable. And the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son,* for themselves and their successors, did faithfully promise to keep and observe the covenants and conditions therein expressed and contained, which, on their parts, are likewise to be kept and observed. And the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, did then also promise to the whole court aforesaid, that he nor they shall or will needlessly or unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrong to other natives, to provoke them to war against him; and that he or they shall not give, sell, or convey any of his or their lands, territories, or possessions whatsoever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity and consent of the government of Plimouth, aforesaid, other than to such as the said government shall send or appoint. All which conditions the said Woosamequen and Mooanam his

to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust; and as we were thinking, and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard, (a godly gentleman, and a lover of learning, there living among us,) to give one half of his estate (it being in all about one thousand seven hundred pounds) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library. After him another gave three hundred pounds. Others after them cast in more; and the public hand of the state added the rest. The college was (by common consent) appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accommodate) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard College."—*Hist. Coll.* i. 242.

* He that is here called Mooanam, is the same that, afterwards, was called Wamsutta; it being usual for the Indians to change their names.—M. He was afterwards called Alexander.

"A printing-house was begun at Cambridge, March, 1639, by one Daye. The first thing which was printed was the Freeman's oath. The next year was an Almanack, made for New England, by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms, newly turned into metre."—*Winth. Jour.*

son, for themselves and their successors, did then faithfully promise to observe and keep. And the whole court, in the name of the whole government, for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy. And did also further promise to the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, that they shall and will from time to time defend the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, when need and occasion shall require, against all such as shall unjustly rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly.

1640.

Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Brown, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants.

1641.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1642.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants to him in government.

In reference unto the three years last specified, although I have no special providence to take notice of, particularly to

assign to each of them, save the continuance of God's mercy and goodness in the annual election of godly and able magistrates in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, as is before noted; yet notwithstanding we are to take notice of the continued peace and plenty, with which not only these three years, restrictively considered, but also for many years together, both before and after them, New England was so marvellously gratiated. But that which is more, that about these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodness, richly to accomplish and adorn the colony of Plymouth, as well as other colonies in New England, with a considerable number of godly and able gospel preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of, to the several churches and congregations thereof, gave light in a glorious and resplendent manner, as burning and shining lights. Which mercy and transcendent favor, had not sin and satan's envy interposed, might have rendered them greatly happy and prosperous; it being observed, that where gospel dispensation flourisheth, there prosperity, in other respects, may usually be expected.

In reference unto the honor of God, and due respects unto such worthy instruments, I thought meet to nominate some of the specialist of them, namely:—

Mr. Charles Chauncy, Mr. William Hooke, Mr. Nicholas Street, Mr. John Laythrop, Mr. John Mayo, Mr. John Reyner, Mr. Ralph Partridge, Mr. Samuel Newman, Mr. William Leverich, Mr. Richard Blinman, Mr. Edward Bulkly, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Marmaduke Matthews,* with some others

* Of Mr. Chauncey an account is given in the Appendix, in connection with the Plymouth church, to which he preached several years, and was afterwards president of Harvard College.

Of Mr. Hooke and Mr. Street, a full account may be found in "The Taunton Ministry," vol. i. Mr. Hooke was their first pastor, and after seven years became pastor in New Haven, and afterwards returned to England, where he experienced the special favor of Cromwell. Mr. Street succeeded Mr. Hooke at Taunton, and also at New Haven. Dr. Bacon speaks of him as "pious, judicious, and modest, and no inferior preacher."

Mr. Lathrop is afterwards spoken of in the Memorial, and in the Appendix; he was pastor at Southwark, England, and at Scituate in Plymouth colony,

that might be named. These some of them staid not long ere they removed, some into the neighbor colonies, some into Old England, and others to their eternal rest, whereby the said jurisdiction was wanting, in a great measure, for some time, of such a blessing. Howbeit, the Lord hath since graciously raised up a supply to divers of the said congregations, and more may be expected according to his promises.

1643.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hathery, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Edmund Freeman, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year, about the eighteenth day of April, died Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder of the church of Christ at Plimouth; concerning whom, I could say much of mine own knowledge; but I shall content myself only to insert the honorable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, deceased, hath left written with his own hand, concerning him.

Saith he, my dear friend, Mr. William Brewster, was a man

and removed with the church to Barnstable. (See notice of him under the year 1653.)

Mr. Mayo was pastor in Barnstable, and afterwards teacher in the second church, Boston.

Of Mr. Reyner an account is given in the notice of the Plymouth church, of which he was pastor.

Mr. Partridge was first pastor in Duxbury. Mather says, "we had been hunted like a partridge on the mountains, by the ecclesiastical *settlers*, and had no defence, neither beak nor claw, but a flight over the ocean."

Mr. Newman was the first minister of Rehoboth, and was the author of a concordance, "which he revised by the light of pine knots."

Mr. Blinman was minister of Marshfield, their first. He preached at several other places, and returned to England.

Mr. Miller and Mr. Matthews were both settled at Yarmouth.

Mr. Bulkley was settled at Marshfield after Mr. Blinman.

Biographies of these ministers are in the *Magnalia*, and *Biog. Dict.*

that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus, and the gospel's sake, and hath borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor persecuted church, above thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness; and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age; he was four-score and four years of age when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him; and he again recompensed them while he could. His sickness was not long, and until the last day thereof, he did not wholly keep his bed; his speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him, and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gasping, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for former sufferings? What, do I say worse? No, he was the better; and they now added to his honor. It is a manifest token, saith the apostle, 2 Thess. i. 5-7, of the righteous judgment of God, that we might be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you that are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels. And if you be reproached, saith the apostle Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 14, for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God shall rest upon you. What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in this life, and pompous monuments of his funeral? yet the memorial of the just shall be blessed, when the name of the wicked shall rot, Prov. x. 17, with their marble monuments. He was well educated in learning, as at inferior schools, so also at the uni-

versity ; * and from thence went to the court, and there served Mr. Davison, a godly gentleman, and secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and attended him on his embassy into Holland, and was employed by him in matters of great trust ; as in keeping of the keys of the cautionary towns delivered up to him for her majesty, and things of the like nature. His master would always in private confer with him as a friend or equal. He afterwards lived in good esteem in his own country, and did much good, until the troubles of those times inforced his remove into Holland, and so into New England, and was in both places of singular use and benefit to the church and people of Plimouth, whereof he was ; being eminently qualified for such work as the Lord had appointed him unto ; of which, should I speak particularly, as I might, I should prove tedious ; I shall content myself, therefore, only to have made honorable mention in general of so worthy a man.

And here I might take occasion to mention, with admiration, the marvellous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that this people, namely, the first planters at New Plimouth, went through, and the many enemies they had, and difficulties they met withal, that so many of them should live unto very old age. It was not only this reverend man's condition, but many more of them did the like ; some dying before and about this time, and some living, who attained to sixty years of age, and to sixty-five, divers to seventy, and some to more than eighty, as he did. It must needs be more than ordinary, and above natural reason that so it should be ; for it is found in experience, that changing of air, famine, and unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows and troubles, etc., all of them are enemies to health, causes of much diseases, consumers of natural

* Elder Brewster had a considerable library. The books were appraised, after his decease, by Gov. Bradford, Mr. Prince, and Rev. Mr. Reyner. The whole number was two hundred and seventy-five, of which sixty-four were in the learned languages. They were valued at forty-three pounds. (See more of Brewster in Appendix.)

vigor and the bodies of men, and shortness of life; and yet, of all these things they had a large and long part, and suffered deeply in the same. They went from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and diet than that they came from; from thence, enduring a long imprisonment in the ships at sea, into New England, and how it hath been with them here hath already been shown; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants, and sorrows they have been liable unto, is easily to be discerned, so as in some sort they may say with the apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, "They were in journeys often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of their own nation, in perils amongst the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils amongst false brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watching often, in hunger, in thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness." What was it then that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits; he that upheld the apostle upheld them, 2 Cor. iv. 9, "They were persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but perished not; as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and yet not killed."

God, it seems, would have all men behold such works of his providence, as these are towards his people, that they, in like cases, might be encouraged to depend upon him in their trials, and also bless his name when they see his goodness towards others. "Man lives not by bread only." Deut. viii. 3. It is not by dainty fare, peace, rest, and heart's ease, in enjoying contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God, in such examples, would have the world take notice that he can do it without them; and if the world will shut their eyes, and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniel could be in better liking with pulse, than with the king's dainties. Jacob, though he went from one nation to another people, and passed through famine, fears, and many afflictions, yet he lived unto old age, and died sweetly, and rested in the Lord, as many others of God's servants have done, and still do, through God's goodness, notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies, "When the

branch of the wicked shall be cut off before his day, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days." Job xv. 32; Psal. lv. 23.*

By reason of the plotting of the Narragansets, ever since the Pequot war, the Indians were drawn into a general conspiracy against the English in all parts, as was in part discovered the year before, and now made more plain and evident, by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry Indians upon several occasions, from divers places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circumstances as gave the English sufficiently to understand the truth thereof, and to think of means how to prevent the same. In which respect, together with divers other and more weighty reasons, the four

* The editor here extracts from "The View of Plimouth," and from Judge Davis's note on the death of Elder Brewster, a list of names which exhibit the longevity of some of the first settlers of Plymouth, who arrived before the year 1631.

TIME OF DECEASE.	AGE.
1664 William Brewster,	80
1664 Julian Kempton (widow of Manasses),	81
1667 Gabriel Hallowell,	83
1668 John Downham (Deacon),	80
1670 Alice Bradford (widow of the governor),	80
1672 John Howland,	80
1673 Thomas Prince,	73
1673 Elizabeth Warren (widow of Richard),	90
1675 Ann Tupper (Sandwich),	97
1675 Dorothy Brown (Swanzey),	90
1676 Thomas Tupper (Sandwich),	97
1678 Edward Bangs (Eastham),	86
1685 Nathaniel Morton (Secretary),	73
1687 Robert Finney (Deacon),	80
1683 Mary Carpenter,	90
1689 George Watson,	86
1689 Priscilla Cooper,	91
1691 Thomas Cushman (Elder),	84
1692 John Downham (son of the Deacon),	79
1697 Thomas Clark (mate of the Mayflower),	98
1699 Mary Cushman (widow of the Elder),	90
1704 George Bonham,	95

colonies, namely, the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, entered into a more near union and confederation, the nineteenth day of May, 1643. And the articles of the said confederation were signed by the commissioners of the said jurisdictions respectively, by which were authorized thereunto, namely:—

John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts, Thomas Dudley, Edward Winslow, William Collier, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Grigson, Theophilus Eaton, George Fenwick.*

TIME OF DECEASE.	AGE.
1705 Samuel King,	90
1710 Phebe Finney (widow of the Deacon),	91
1688 Samuel Eddy,	87
1682 Elizabeth Eddy,	81

We find a similar longevity among the first planters in Massachusetts, and of the other New England Colonies; a few instances will be mentioned.

In Massachusetts.

	AGE.		AGE.
Richard Bellingham,	82	Rev. Thomas Parker,	82
Ezekiel Chever,	94	President Chauncey,	82
Simon Bradstreet,	94	Rev. Nehemiah Walter,	84
Rev. John Higginson,	93	Rev. John Ward,	88
Rev. John Elliot,	86	Rev. Samuel Whiting,	83
Rev. Thomas Mayhew,	93	Rev. John Woodbridge,	82

In Rhode Island.

Roger Williams,	84	William Coddington,	78
Samuel Gorton,	80		

In Connecticut.

Rev. James Fitch,	80	Major John Mason,	78
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In the succeeding generation, instances of greater longevity have occurred. Elder John Faunce, of the first generation from the first planters, died at Plymouth, in 1745, aged 99. His daughter, Patience Kempton, died at New Bedford, in 1779, aged 105 years and six months. Ephraim Pratt, grandson of Joshua Pratt, one of the first comers at Plymouth, died at Shutesbury, county of Worcester, in 1804, aged 116. Ebenezer Cobb, who was born in Plymouth, and died in Kingston in 1801, aged 107 years and eight months, was of the third generation.

* A confederation of the New England colonies, for mutual aid and defence in matters of general concern, had been for several years in agitation

The said articles at large, with sundry other particulars appertaining thereunto, together with the particulars concerning the plotting contrivements, menacings, and insolencies of the Narragansets against the English, together with the provision and preparation made by the English for an expedition against them, with the yieldings and compliance of the said Narragansets to the English, composition and articles of agreement made with them, etc., these are all to be seen as they are at large extent in the records of the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, whereunto I refer the reader.*

1644.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hathery, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Atwood died. He was a godly man, singularly endowed with the grace of patience, and having a large estate, became a useful benefactor to the colony of New Plimouth. He departed this life expressing great faith in

before it was accomplished. It was not only domestic, but foreign enemies that induced this confederation, which may well be called the embryo of the Constitution of the United States. The names of the first commissioners from Plymouth, were Gov. Winslow and Mr. Collier. They met, at first, once a year, alternately at Boston, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven, but afterwards, once in three years. The articles of confederation may be seen in *Hutch.* vol. i. 118–119. It is said the union subsisted until 1686, when the charters of the colonies were vacated.

These commissioners were made the dispensers of the bounty of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, of which there is an account in the Appendix; and the English government countenanced and encouraged both objects. The letters of Charles the Second take notice of this confederacy without any objection to its establishment. — *Ibid.* It seems to have been a kind of Congress: the representation was two from each colony. — *Trumb. Hist. of Conn.* i. p. 124; *Winth. Jour.*

* See Acts of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England, Anno 1644, and 1645. — M.

Christ, and a cheerful expectation of the restoration of his body at the general resurrection in glory.

This year many of the town of Plimouth, by reason of some straits that were upon them, took up thoughts of removing to some other place, for their better accommodation, and for that end made a more exact and particular discovery of a place called by the Indians Nauset; which place being purchased by them of the Indians, divers of the considerablest of the church and town removed thither, and erected a town, which is now called by the name of Eastham.*

1645.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

The commissioners of the united colonies of New England were called together this year, before their ordinary time of meeting,† partly in regard of some differences between the French and the government of the Massachusetts, about their aiding of Monsieur Latore and Monsieur de Aulney, and partly about the Indians, who had broken their former agreements about the peace concluded the year before; as concerning such conclusions and determinations which passed in this

* This place was called Nauset, and the east side of the town still retains that name. The church having caused an exploration of the place, and made the purchase of the land of the natives, the court granted or confirmed to "the church, or those of them who go to dwell at Nauset, all the tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchased bounds of Namsheket to Herringbrook, at Billingsgate." The first settlers were but seven families, of which Gov. Prince was one, and though the removal was much regretted by the church, it became the means of securing the friendship and improvement of the numerous Indians in the vicinity, so that they took no part in the subsequent wars against the English. The church at Eastham was the third from the Plymouth church. — *Hist. East.* 12, 13.

† This meeting was held the 28th of July, 1645. — M.

meeting, in reference to the premises, I shall refer the reader unto the acts of the said commissioners for that year, as they are recorded at large.*

1646.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

About the middle of May, this year, there came three men-of-war into Plimouth harbor, under the command of Captain Thomas Cromwell, who had taken several prizes from the Spaniards, by commission from the earl of Warwick. They were full of moneys, silks, and other rich goods, some of which they left behind them. They were a company of lusty, stout men, but very unruly and hard to govern; notwithstanding the care and vigilance both of such as were in authority of Plimouth, and also of their own commanders, who could hardly restrain them, especially from inordinate drinking and quarrelling. It proved fatal to one of them, who being quarrelling with one of their own company, and being commanded by their own captain to forbear, he giving very provoking language, and also attempting to draw upon his captain; he took his rapier from him, and struck him on the head with the hilt, of which wound, three or four days after, he died. The captain was tried by a council of war, and acquitted by the largeness of his commission.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons, under the government of the Massachusetts, sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them

* See Hutch. Hist. Mass. i. 120-127; Winth. Hist. N. E. 267. For particulars relating to the interposition of the commissioners between the Narragansets and the Mohegans, see Hutch. Hist. Mass. i. 129, etc.

in England, by petitioning and complaining to the parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company, made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defence, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself, as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame and dishonor, to the shame of their adversaries. After this he fell upon other employment in England, which detained him there, so as he returned not again to New England any more, whose absence hath been much to the weakening of the government of New Plimouth, who had large experience of his help and usefulness amongst them in government, etc., of whom I have more to insert, in honor of so worthy a gentleman, in its more proper place.

1647.

Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were elected his assistants in government.

This year the whole land, but more especially the church and town of Hartford on Connecticut, sustained a great and more than ordinary loss, by the death of that most eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who, in the month of July in this year, changed this life for a better; concerning whose piety, learning, and singular dexterity in preaching the gospel with answerable success, the many souls wrought upon by his ministry, in both Old England and New, do give forth a large testimony; and withal, as an addition to the former, those learned and profitable works penned by him for the refutation of error, and guiding and confirming of the saints in the ways of Christ. In which respects, with others, his name will live and is embalmed; and doth remain, and will be as a precious ointment in the churches, and amongst the saints in present and future ages.

This special servant of Christ, as he served his master with great zeal, love, wisdom, and sincerity, so he ended his life with much comfort and serenity; so as it is rare that was said of him, that the peace which he had in believing, thirty years before his death, was firm, and not touched by the adversary, until the period of his life; and with much joy and peace in believing, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Hartford on Connecticut.

In whose memorial, I shall here insert the funeral elegies of two eminent divines, written upon his death.

On my reverend and dear brother, Mr. Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford on Connecticut.

To see three things was holy Austin's wish,
Rome in her flower, Christ Jesus in the flesh,
And Paul i' the pulpit: lately men might see,
Two first, and more, in Hooker's ministry.

Zion in beauty is a fairer sight,
Than Rome in flower, with all her glory dight:
Yet Zion's beauty did most clearly shine
In Hooker's rule and doctrine; both divine.

Christ in the spirit is more than Christ in flesh,
Our souls to quicken, and our states to bless!
Yet Christ in spirit brake forth mightily,
In faithful Hooker's searching ministry.

Paul in the pulpit, Hooker could not reach,
Yet did he Christ in spirit so lively preach;
That living hearers thought he did inherit
A double portion of Paul's lively spirit.

Prudent in rule, in argument quick, full;
Fervent in prayer, in preaching powerful;
That well did learned Ames record bear,
The like to him he never wont to hear.

'Twas of Geneva's worthies said, with wonder,
(Those worthies three) Farell was wont to thunder;
Viret, like rain, on tender grass to shower;
But Calvin, lively oracles to pour.

All these in Hooker's spirit did remain,
A son of thunder, and a shower of rain,
A pourer forth of lively oracles,
In saving souls, the sum of miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
Above the thankless world, and cloudy sky;
Do thou of all thy labor reap the crown,
Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.

J. C.*

A lamentation for the death of that precious and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who died July 7, 1647, as the sun was setting. The same hour of the day died blessed Calvin, that glorious light.

Come sighs, come sorrows, let 's lament this rod,
Which hath bereaved us of this man of God;
A man of God, who came from God to men,
And now from them is gone to God again.
Bid joy depart, bid merriment be gone;
Bid friends stand by, sit sorrowful alone.
But ah! what sorrow can be to suffice,
Though heaven and earth were filled with our cries,
The clouds were turned into drops of tears,
The mourning for to last an age of years?
'Twere all too little to lament his death,
Whose life so precious was for heaven and earth.
Job wish'd his day might quite forgotten be,
Which brought him forth this world's light first to see.
O let not the day be numbered in th' year,
That took this light out of our hemisphere.
A fatal day, a day of sad presage
To us survivors of this present age.

* Mr. Hooker died at Hartford, of an epidemical fever, in the sixty-second year of his age. The elegiac lines, recited in the Memorial, were written by the Rev. John Cotton. A full account of Mr. Hooker is given in the *Magnalia*, with a tribute to his memory in Latin verse, by Mr. Elijah Corlet, an eminent schoolmaster at Cambridge. Mr. Hooker's writings were in such repute, that Mr. John Higginson, says Dr. C. Mather, transcribed from his manuscripts nearly two hundred sermons, which were sent to England for publication: "But by what means I know not," he adds, "scarce half of them have seen the light to this day." — *Magnal.* iii. 57-68.

The hour of thy decease, when sun went down,
When light turn'd dark, when heavens began to frown;
'Tis ominous to us who saw his light,
That grace provok'd should turn our day to night;
And gospel's light which shineth from on high,
Should clouded be, and darkened in our sky.
O happy days, when such lights shine on earth!
O bitter days, when they are hid beneath!
This is our grief, he who late shin'd on high,
Is hid in grave, and now beneath doth lie.
Let Hartford sigh, and say, I've lost a treasure;
Let all New England mourn at God's displeasure,
In taking from us one more gracious
Than is the gold of Ophir precious.
Sweet was the savor which his grace did give,
It season'd all the place where he did live.
His name did as an ointment give its smell,
And all bear witness that it savored well.
Wisdom, love, meekness, friendly courtesy,
Each moral virtue, with rare piety,
Pure zeal, yet mixt with mildest clemency,
Did all conspire in this one breast to lie.
Deep was his knowledge, judgment was acute,
His doctrine solid, which none could confute.
To mind he gave light of intelligence,
And searched the corners of the conscience.
To sinners stout, which no law could bring under,
To them he was a son of dreadful thunder,
When all strong oaks of Bashan us'd to quake,
And fear did Lebanon his cedars shake;
The stoutest hearts he filled full of fears,
He clave the rocks, they melted into tears.
Yet to sad souls, with sense of sin cast down,
He was a son of consolation.
Sweet peace he gave to such as were contrite;
Their darkness sad he turned to joyous light.
Of preaching he had learn'd the rightest art,
To every one dividing his own part.
Each ear that heard him said, He spake to me:
So piercing was his holy ministry.
His life did shine, time's changes stain'd it not,
Envy itself could not there find a spot.
Had he survived to finish works begun,
'T had been a blessing to all Christendom.

Then should the world have known what God had show'd him,
And what themselves for all his works had ow'd him.
But this unthankful age is now cut short
Of that rich treasure, 'cause they car'd not for 't:
O that his love may turn us, yet to prize
The blessings yet enjoyed ; herein be wise ;
Lest that which he not long ago foretold,
Be now in us fulfill'd as 't was of old,
That wantonness of churches, would bereave
Them of their ministers, without their leave,
God plaguing this his messenger's contempt,
With this soul 'stroying plague and punishment.
But whatsoever wrath doth us abide,
Whatever plague for sin doth us betide ;
Yet thou, O blessed saint, art now at rest,
I' th' bosom of thy Christ, which is the best ;
Bathing in rivers of divine pleasure,
Which is at God's right hand, most sweet and pure ;
Tasting the fruit of all thy labors spent,
To honor God, which was thy whole intent.
From God thou camest forth, who sent thee hither.
And now hath called thee back to live together.
Him didst thou serve while life and breath did last,
With him now blest, while life and breath is past.
Sense of our loss would call thee back again.
But out of love, we bid thee there remain,
Till we yet left behind our course fulfil,
To meet thee on the top of Zion's hill ;
When thou and we shall both rejoice together,
So fast united as no death shall sever ;
Both to sing praises to our heavenly king,
Who hath us saved from death's poisonous sting,
And will restore our bodies from the grave,
Which them to dust of death consumed have ;
Making them shine like brightness of the sun
With glory, ne'er to end when once begun.
Let heaven and earth, angels and men him praise,
Sounding his glory past all length of days.

P. B.*

* These initials, probably, were meant to indicate the Rev. Peter Bulkley, first minister of Concord.

1648.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.*

1649.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Winthrop, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, deceased, the twenty-sixth day of March, about ten of the clock. He was singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit. He brought over a great estate into the country, and partly by his liberality, and partly by the unfaithfulness of his baily, spent the most part of it; so as when he died, he was but low in that respect; and yet notwithstanding, very much honored and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of governor, for the most part, until his death, which was much lamented by many. He was a man of unbiassed justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was, with great

* The synod which was convened in 1646, and had continued its meetings, by adjournments, was dissolved in this year. The Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline was composed and adopted by this assembly.

solemnity and honor, buried at Boston, in New England, the third of April, 1649.*

This year some part of the country was much troubled with innumerable hosts of caterpillars, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, in divers places, and did eat off the leaves of trees, so as they looked as bare as if it had been winter; and in some places did eat the leaves from off the pease-straw, and did not eat the pease. It pleased God to give them a check, and a rebuke, so as they hurt but in some places, and of his goodness in a short time removed them.

This year, August 25, that faithful and eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Shepard, died, who was a soul-searching minister of the gospel, and pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death, not only that church and people, but also all New England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God ward; the benefit thereof, those can best experience, who are most conversant in the improvement of them, and have God's blessing on them therein to their soul's good. His body was honorably buried at Cambridge in New England.†

"Blessed are the dead, that die in the Lord, for their works do follow them." Rev. xiii. 13.

This year there passed an act of parliament in England, for the promoting and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ among the Indians in New England. In reference unto the furtherance and advancement of so good a work, a corporation of sixteen select men were appointed, consisting of a president, treasurer, and assistants, called by the name of the President and Society for the propagation of the Gospel in

* Gov. Winthrop died at the age of sixty-three. His life and character are ably delineated in the *American Biography*, vol. ii. 337-358. See *Magnalia*, ii. 13.

† Mr. Shepard arrived at Boston in 1635, and succeeded Mr. Hooker, at Newtown, (afterward Cambridge,) on the removal of Mr. Hooker to Connecticut. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age. See *Life of Shepard* prefixed to his works, published by Cong. Board of Pub.

New England; to receive such sums of money, as from time to time was, or should be collected and raised, by the liberal contributions of such as whose hearts God was pleased to stir up to so glorious a work. And it was by the same parliament enacted, that the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, for the time being, by themselves or such as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to receive and dispose of the said moneys brought in and paid to the said treasurer for the time being; or any other moneys, goods, or commodities, acquired and delivered by the care of the said corporation at any time; whose receipt or receipts of such person or persons so authorized by them, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said corporation and treasurer. The particulars of such orders and instructions, with which the said act is invested, the reader may be more amply satisfied in, by the perusal thereof, as it is extant, bearing date, July 27, 1649.

Moreover, let the reader take notice of the special favor of Almighty God, in moving the heart of the king's majesty, since his restitution to his crown and regal dignity, particularly of his royal favor to countenance this work, and to secure what hath been, and what may be given toward this work, by a legal settlement, which before was wanting; so as the said glorious design hath been vigorously carried on, both in Old England and in New, by such active and faithful instruments as God hath raised up and improved therein, with some considerable success. The work coming on to such perfection, as that the Holy Bible is translated and printed in the Indian language, whereby the glad tidings of the gospel is, and may be communicated to them with the greater facility; some souls also of them being gained, as may be hoped, to believe on the Lord Jesus for life everlasting; and daily hopes of further and greater success in that behalf, for which unspeakable riches of his grace, let his holy name have all the praise throughout all ages.

The principal instruments improved in preaching the gospel of Christ unto the Indians, are, Mr. John Elliot, sen., Mr. John Elliot, jun., Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Mr. Pierson, Mr.

Brown, Mr. James, and Mr. Cotton, besides divers of their own nation, whose names and number I know not.*

1650.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year there was more than ordinary mortality in the country, especially about Boston, and mostly among their children. (New diseases the fruits of new sins.) Since which time, several diseases have been in the country more frequently than formerly; as namely, gripings in the bowels, with violent vomiting and purging, which hath taken away many; as also a disease in the mouth or throat, which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time; as also great distempers of colds, etc., which ought to be awakening dispensations, together with others, to cause us to consider and examine

* The reader will be interested to learn more fully the disposition and labors of these men in regard to the natives. Mr. Symonds, a gentleman of rank and influence, from Essex in England, addressed a letter to Gov. Winthrop in 1646, expressing what he regarded as the divine purposes in the settlement of New England, one of which was the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith and practice. Many good and benevolent men in this country and in England had been deeply impressed with the obligations expressed in the Massachusetts charter, to incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith. And Gov. Hutchinson regarded the long neglect of attempts in this direction as inexcusable. And the Indians themselves asked, "how it happened, if Christianity were of such importance, that, for six and twenty years, the English had said nothing to them about it?" But at length good men were impressed with a sense of their obligation in this matter, and this work was commenced and pursued with true Christian zeal and fidelity. And the history of these early Indian missions are instructive and suggestive in regard to the Aborigines remaining in the land. We therefore here refer the reader to an interesting article in the Appendix, which contains a condensed narrative of the labors of these excellent men with the Indians.

whether we have not provoked the Lord with some general and unwonted sins; inasmuch as he is pleased to exercise the country oftentimes with unwonted afflictions and punishments.

1651.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. William Thomas expired his natural life in much peace and comfort. He served in the place of magistracy, in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, divers years; he was a well approved and a wellgrounded Christian, well read in the Holy Scriptures, and other approved authors, and a good lover and approver of godly ministers and good Christians, and one that had a sincere desire to promote the common good, both of church and state. He died of a consumption, and was honorably buried at Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth.

1652.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year that blessed servant of God, Mr. John Cotton, died. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Boston, in Lincolshire, and from thence came over into New England, in the year 1633, and was chosen teacher of the first church of Christ at Boston. (Of Mr. Cotton's life, Mr. Norton hath penned a book, whereunto I refer the reader for more full relation of the same.) For which function and office he was greatly enriched with gifts and abilities, being an able ex-

pounder and faithful applier of the word of God; furnished also with wisdom and prudence to go before the church, in the ordering of the affairs thereof; endowed also with meekness of spirit, whereby he was fitted to compose such differences as did at any time arise amongst them. He was very patient also in respect unto personal wrongs and injuries done unto himself, yea, towards his sharpest antagonists. An influence of good, not only flowed from him unto the church over whom he was set, but also into all the churches in New England, as necessity required. About the time of his sickness, there appeared in the heavens, over New England, a comet, giving a dim light; and so waxed dimmer and dimmer, until it became quite extinct and went out; which time of its being extinct, was soon after the time of the period of his life: it being a very signal testimony, that God had then removed a bright star, a burning and a shining light out of the heaven of his church here, unto celestial glory above. He was buried at Boston, in New England, with great honor and lamentation, in the year above written.

Upon whose never enough deplored death, were made these verses following: —

A Funeral Elegy upon the death of the truly Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, in New England.

And after Winthrop's, Hooker's, Shepard's hearse,
Doth Cotton's death call for a mourning verse?
Thy will be done. Yet Lord, who dealest thus,
Make this great death expedient for us.
Luther pulled down the Pope, Calvin the Prelate slew:
Of Calvin's lapse, chief cure to Cotton's due.
Cotton, whose learning, temper, godliness,
The German Phoenix, lively did express.
Melanchthon's all, may Luther's word but pass;
Melanchthon's all, in our great Cotton, was.
Than him in flesh, scarce dwelt a better one;
So great's our loss, when such a spirit's gone.
Whilst he was here, life was more life to me;
Now he is not, death hence less death shall be.
That comets, great men's deaths do oft forego,
This present comet doth too sadly show.

This prophet dead, yet must in's doctrine speak,
 This comet saith, else must New England break.
 Whate'er it be, the heavens avert it far,
 That meteors should succeed our greatest star.
 In Boston's orb, Winthrop and Cotton were;
 These lights extinct, dark is our hemisphere.
 In Boston once how much shin'd of our glory,
 We now lament, posterity will story.
 Let Boston live, who had and saw their worth;
 And did them honor, both in life and death.
 To him New England trust in this distress,
 Who will not leave his exiles comfortless.

J. N.*

*Upon the tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the
 church of Boston, in New England.*

Here lies magnanimous humility,
 Majesty, meekness, Christian apathy
 On soft affections; liberty in thrall;
 A noble spirit, servant unto all.
 Learning's great masterpiece; who yet could sit
 As a disciple at his scholar's feet.
 A simple serpent, or serpentine dove,
 Made up of wisdom, innocence, and love,
 Neatness embroider'd with itself alone;
 And civils canonized in a gown:
 Embracing old and young, and low and high;
 Ethics embodied in divinity.
 Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise
 His brethren's honor on his own decays.
 Thus doth the sun retire into his bed,
 That being gone, the stars may show their head.
 Could wound at argument without division;
 Cut to the quick, and yet make no incision;
 Ready to sacrifice domestic notions
 To churches peace and minister's devotions.
 Himself indeed (and singular in that)
 Whom all admired, he admired not.
 Liv'd like an angel of a mortal birth,
 Convers'd in heaven while he was on earth:

* Probably the Rev. John Norton, at that time minister of Ipswich, and who succeeded Mr. Cotton, as minister of the first church in Boston.

Though not, as Moses, radiant with light,
 Whose glory dazzled the beholders' sight;
 Yet so divinely beautified, you'd count
 He had been born and bred upon the mount.

- * A living, breathing Bible; tables, where
- * Both covenants at large engraven were;
- * Gospel and law in's heart had each its column,
- * His head an index to the sacred volume.
- * His very name a title-page; and next,
- * His life a commentary on the text.
- * O what a monument of glorious worth,
- * When in a new edition he comes forth,
- * Without erratas, may we think he'll be,
- * In leaves and covers of eternity!

A man of might at heavenly eloquence,
 To fix the ear and charm the conscience;
 As if Apollos were revived in him,
 Or he had learned of a Seraphim.
 Spake many tongues in one: one voice and sense
 Wrought joy and sorrow, fear and confidence.
 Rocks rent before him, blind received their sight;
 Souls levell'd to the dunghill, stood upright.
 Infernal furies burst with rage to see
 Their pris'ners captiv'd into liberty.
 A star, that in our eastern England rose,
 Thence hurry'd by the blast of stupid foes,
 Whose foggy darkness, and benumbed senses,
 Brook'd not his dazzling fervent influences.
 Thus did he move on earth from east to west;
 There he went down, and up to heaven for rest.
 Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,
 His death hath made him an ubiquatary:
 Where is his sepulchre is hard to tell,
 Who in a thousand sepulchres doth dwell;
 (Their hearts, I mean, whom he hath left behind,)
 In them his sacred relique's now enshrind.
 But let his mourning flock be comforted,
 Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead:
 I mean renowned Norton; worthy he
 Successor to our Moses is to be,
 O happy Israel in America,
 In such a Moses, such a Joshua.

B. W.*

* The Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, D. D., the first graduate of Harvard College. He returned to England, and succeeded the Rev. Dr. Twiss, at

1653.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

Mr. Thomas Dudley, who was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of the Massachusetts, in New England, and sundry times governor and deputy-governor of that jurisdiction, died at his house in Roxbury, July 31, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a person of quick understanding, and solid judgment in the fear of the Lord. He was a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion, the supreme virtues of a good magistrate. 1. His love to justice appeared at all times, and in special upon the judgment-seat, without respect of persons in judgment; and in his own particular transactions with all men, he was exact and exemplary. 2. His zeal to order appeared in contriving good laws, and faithfully executing them upon criminal offenders, heretics, and underminers of true religion. He had a piercing judgment to discover the wolf, though clothed with a sheepskin. 3. His love to the people was evident in serving them in a public capacity many years, at his own cost, and that as a nursing father to the churches of Christ. 4. He loved the true Christian religion, and the pure worship of God, and cherished, as in his bosom, all godly ministers and Christians. He was exact in the practice of piety, in his person and family, all his life. In a word, he lived desired, and died lamented by all good men.

The verses following were found in his pocket after his

Newbury. His professional and literary character and acquirements were in high estimation in both countries. The lines distinguished by asterisms, are quoted by Mr. Allen, in his biographical account of Mr. Cotton, with a conjecture, that they probably suggested to Dr. Franklin his celebrated epitaph upon himself.

death, which may further illustrate his character, and give a taste of his poetical fancy ; wherein, it is said he did excel.

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach show
My dissolution is in view ;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die :
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done ;
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead ;
Farewell dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends ;
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch ;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, I died no libertine.*

This year Mr. John Laythrop did put off his earthly tabernacle. He was sometimes preacher of God's word in Egerton in Kent, from whence he went to London, and was chosen pastor of a church there. He was greatly troubled, and imprisoned, for witnessing against the errors of the times. During the time of his imprisonment, his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife before her death, and commended her to God by prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost. At his return to prison, his poor children, being many, repaired to the bishop to Lambeth, and made known unto him their miserable condition by reason of their good father, his being continued in close durance ; who commiserated their condition so far, as to

* Mr. Dudley was an estimable character, though sometimes unduly severe. His want of toleration was characteristic of the age. But, says Dr. Holmes, " With strong passions he was still placable and generous."

grant him liberty, who soon after came over into New England, and settled for some time at the town of Scituate, and was chosen pastor of their church, and faithfully dispensed the word of God amongst them. And afterwards, the church dividing, a part whereof removed to Barnstable, he removed with them, and there remained until his death. He was a man of a humble and broken heart and spirit, lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend, and to be spent, for the cause of the church of Christ. He fell asleep in the Lord, November 8, 1653.*

1654.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1655.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year that worthy and honorable gentleman, Mr. Edward Winslow, deceased; of whom I have had occasion to make honorable mention formerly in this discourse. He was the son of Edward Winslow, Esq., of the town of Draughtwich,† in the county of Worcester. He, travelling into the

* The Rev. John Lothrop, (as the name is written by himself,) arrived at Boston in 1634, and, soon afterward, settled in the ministry at Scituate. His removal to Barnstable was in 1639. The name is variously spelt. Rev. Dr. Lathrop of Boston, was his great grandson. See Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i.

† Droitwick.

low countries, in his journeys fell into acquaintance with the church of Leyden, in Holland, unto whom he joined, and with whom he continued until they parted to come into New England, he coming with that part that came first over, and became a very worthy and useful instrument amongst them, both in place of government and otherwise, until his last voyage for England, being sent on special employment for the government of the Massachusetts, as is aforementioned in this book; and afterwards was employed as one of the grand commissioners in that unhappy design against Domingo in Hispaniola, who taking grief for the ill success of that enterprise, on which, together with some other infirmities that were upon him, he fell sick at sea, betwixt Domingo and Jamaica, and died the eighth day of May, which was about the sixty-first year of his life, and his body was honorably committed to the sea, with the usual solemnity of the discharge of forty-two pieces of ordnance.

One of the company, who was employed in taking notice of the particulars of that tragedy, gave such testimony of the said Mr. Winslow, as followeth in this poem.

The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man of chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet, and conversation just;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;
An honor to his place, as all can tell.*

* The Memorial and all our historians exhibit Gov. Winslow as a man of activity and well directed energy. His writings respecting the early concerns of the country, the natives, and the church, are interesting and reliable. He managed the foreign relations of the colonies with so much ability, that Cromwell claimed his services in the government of England, and appointed him on several important commissions, in the performance of one of which, in the West Indies with Admiral Penn, he died. His home and family estate here were in Marshfield, and it was held in the family for more than two centuries. It afterwards became the property and home of the late Daniel Webster. His descendants are very numerous.

1656.

Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Capt. James Cudworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Capt. Miles Standish expired his mortal life. He was a gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish. In his younger time he went over into the low countries, and was a soldier there, and came acquainted with the church at Leyden, and came over into New England, with such of them as at the first set out for the planting of the plantation of New Plymouth, and bare a deep share of their first difficulties, and was always very faithful to their interest. He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or strangury, whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Duxbury.*

* Standish. There is little recorded of Standish after his prowess had brought the Indians to submission. Often when military action was expected and soldiers called for, he was appointed generalissimo, and he was active in military life until within three years of his death. He was also one of the assistants or council during most of his life. There is a traditionary anecdote relative to Capt. Standish and his friend John Alden. "The lady who had gained the affections of the captain is said to have been Priscilla Mullins. John Alden was sent to make proposals in behalf of Standish. The messenger, though a pilgrim, was then young and comely, and the lady expressed her preference by the question, Prithce, John, why do you not speak for yourself? The captain's hope was blasted, and the frank overture soon ended in the marriage of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens, from whom it is said, are descended all of the name of Alden in the United States."

Standish's descendants are very numerous in the Old Colony and elsewhere. It is said, "Duxborough have a manor in England as their right of inheritance, and has for a long time been held in abeyance for the heirs at law."

1657.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Capt. James Cudworth, Capt. Josiah Winslow, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.*

This year it pleased God to put a period to the life of his precious servant, Mr. William Bradford, who was the second governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, and continued in the same place for the most part of his time, with little intermission. Concerning whom the following poems made, the one by himself, and the other by such as were well acquainted with his worth and excellency, will give a large testimony thereof.

Certain verses left by the honored William Bradford, Esq. governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, penned by his own hand, declaring the gracious dispensations of God's providence towards him in the time of his life, and his preparation and fittedness for death.

From my years young in days of youth,
God did make known to me his truth,
And call'd me from my native place
For to enjoy the means of grace.
In wilderness he did me guide,
And in strange lands for me provide.
In fears and wants, through weal and woe,
A pilgrim, passed I to and fro:
Oft left of them whom I did trust;
How vain it is to rest on dust!
A man of sorrows I have been,
And many changes I have seen.
Wars, wants, peace, plenty, have I known;
And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
The humble poor, cheerful and glad;
Rich, discontent, sower and sad:

* This election was on the 5th of June. Gov. Bradford died in May, the month before.

When fears and sorrows have been mixt,
 Consolations came betwixt.
 Faint not, poor soul, in God still trust,
 Fear not the things thou suffer must;
 For, whom he loves he doth chastise,
 And then all tears wipes from their eyes.
 Farewell, dear children, whom I love,
 Your better Father is above:
 When I am gone, he can supply;
 To him I leave you when I die.
 Fear him in truth, walk in his ways,
 And he will bless you all your days.
 My days are spent, old age is come,
 My strength it fails, my glass near run.
 Now I will wait, when work is done,
 Until my happy change shall come,
 When from my labors I shall rest,
 With Christ above for to be blest.

*By the honored Major Josias Winslow, on the said Mr. William Bradford,
 as followeth: —*

WILLIAM BRADFORD, ANAGR.

I made law for bridl'.
 For law I made bridl'.

See how God honored hath this worthy's name,
 To make it spell his virtue, and proclaim
 His rare endowments, us'd for God and us:
 Now such as honor God, he'll honor thus.

Both just and gentle, merciful and just;
 And yet a man, and yet compos'd of dust!
 Yes, God within these slender walls can find
 A noble, virtuous, studious, active mind.

God was the guider of his childhood, youth;
 God did preserve him ever in the truth,
 And gave him grace to own him when but young,
 Whom afterward he made a champion strong,

For to defend his people, and his cause,
 By wisdom, justice, prudence, and by laws;
 And, most of all, by his own good example,
 A pattern fit to imitate most ample.

If we should trace him from the first, we find
He flies his country, leaves his friends behind,
To follow God, and to profess his ways,
And here encounters hardships many days.

He is content, with Moses, if God please,
Renouncing honor, profit, pleasure, ease,
To suffer tossings, and unsettlements,
And if their rage doth rise, to banishments.

He weighs it not, so he may still preserve
His conscience clear, and with God's people serve
Him freely, 'cording to his mind and will,
If not in one place, he'll go forward still.

If God have work for him in th' ends of th' earth,
Safe, danger, hunger, colds, nor any dearth;
A howling wilderness, nor savage men,
Discourage him, he'll follow God again:

And how God hath made him an instrument
To us of quiet peace and settlement;
I need not speak; the eldest, youngest know,
God honor'd him with greater work than so.

To sum up all, in this he still went hence,
This man was wholly God's: his recompense
Remains beyond expression, and he is
Gone to possess it in eternal bliss.

He's happy, happy thrice; unhappy we
That still remain more changes here to see:
Let's not lament that God hath taken him
From troubles hence, in seas of joys to swim.

Let's not lament his gracious life is ended,
And he to life of glory is attended;
Nor let us grieve that now God's work is done,
In making him a happy blessed one.

But let's bewail that we have so neglected
Duty to God, or men have disrespected;
With earnest lamentations let's lament;
And, whilst we may, let's seriously repent.

That we have not improved as we might,
For God, and for ourselves, this worthy wight;
And now that God hath Moses tak'n away,
Let's pray that he would give us Joshua;

To go before the camp, and to subdue
God's and his people's foes, whatever crew
Oppose our journeys to that land of rest,
Which 'till obtain'd, we're never truly blest.

And for our better progress in this course,
Let now our great necessity enforce
Each man to study peace, and to improve
His greatest strength to reunite, in love,
The hearts and the affections of us all;
Lest by our faults, God's work to th' ground should fall.

Why mourns the people thus for me, since I
In heavens dwell, shall to eternity?
Let not so many tears fall from my friends;
Live holy, happy, God will recompense
Into your bosoms all your love again,
And your affections whilst I did remain
Amongst you, but now you must refrain.

Bear up your hearts, dear hearts, when thoughts of me
Run in your minds, with this the time will be,
And every hour brings it on apace,
Dear friends, when we for ever shall embrace.
Farewell but for a season then, farewell;
Our next embraces shall the rest excel,
Rest happy, children, friends, and tender wife,
Death but begins the godly's happy life.*

* This is what is called "Anagram," one of the species of false wit, ridiculed by Addison, *Spectator*, No. 60. It was the invention of the monks, who, in their cloisters were hard pushed for employment. It consists in "the transmutation of one word into another, or turning the same letters into different words." Thus Gov. Bradford's name is transmuted "I made law for bridle." Invention in that age, both here and in England, was strained to its utmost extension to make a good Anagram, (one way of conjuring or fortune telling,) generally to please, or flatter, or ridicule. Our author calls his rival "an Anagram of a man," because his limbs seemed to be displaced, or not in their proper places. Much of this, and also acrostic, another species

*A few verses more, added by one that was well acquainted with the worth of
the said Mr. William Bradford.*

The ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plimouth took ;
Governor Bradford then expired his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel death.
A man approv'd in town, in church, in court,
Who so behav'd himself in godly sort,
For the full space of thirty-seven years,
As he was means of turning many fears
Away from thee, poor Plimouth, where he spent
The better part of time that God him lent.
Well skill'd he was in regulating laws,
So as by law he could defend the cause
Of poor distressed plaintiff, when he brought
His case before him, and for help besought.
Above all other men he loved those
Who gospel truths most faithfully unclose,
Who were with grace and learning fully fraught,
Such as laboriously the gospel taught.
Willing also to own, in his due place,
The meanest saint, expressing gifts of grace.
Sweet Brewster, he is gone some time before ;
Wise Winslow, whose death we lament so sore ;
And faithful Standish, freed from horrid pain,
To be with Christ, in truth, the greatest gain :
Now blessed, holy Bradford, a successor
Of blessed, holy Bradford, the confessor,
Is gone to place of rest, with many more
Of precious ones, whom I might name, great store ;
And commendation of each one have given ;
But what needs that ? their names are writ in heaven.
And now, dear Lord, let us our time improve,
To be with thee in prayer much above.

of false wit, may be found in Mather, and some other early New England writers. Addison mentions a minister who anagrammatized from this text, "Adam, Seth, Enoch," transmuting the words and letters so as to reveal great mysteries, and give important instructions ; and Mather says, "Mr. Wilson, with his quiet wit upon names, would often fetch or even *force* devout instructions out of his Anagrams.

O save thy people ; help in time of need ;
When all means fail, be thou in room and stead
Of other helps, who fail when needed most ;
When greatest need, they then give up the ghost.
And let thy servants their time still employ,
That in the end they may attain such joy
As may a fruit of true believing be,
That we with Christ may reign eternally.

This worthy gentleman was interred with the greatest solemnities that the jurisdiction to which he belonged was in a capacity to perform, many deep sighs, as well as loud volleys of shot declaring that the people were no less sensible of their own loss, who were surviving, than mindful of the worth and honor of him that was deceased.* You might now easily discern a heavy heart in the mournful countenance of every sober-minded and considerate man ; for as you have heard, in the three or four years last past, God was pleased greatly to weaken this poor tottering colony of Plimouth, by taking away several of the most useful props thereof, both in church and civil state ; some others, who had been of singular use, now stooping under the infirmities of old age, could not be so serviceable as in times past ; and others removed so far from the centre of the government, that they could not, without great difficulties, attend their public concerns, nor could possibly so constantly as our necessities required, which did greatly aggravate our troubles ; we were become weak when we had need of the greatest strength ; had lost many of our chieftains, when we stood in need of the best conduct and guidance. For, besides the troubles and changes that attended our native country, and might call for great circumspection

* Gov. Bradford died, May 9, 1657, in the sixty-ninth year of his age ; “ lamented,” says Dr. C. Mather, “ by all the colonies of New England, as a common father to them all.” His talents, well-tempered spirit, and acquirements, are celebrated by the same learned author. The Dutch tongue, he observes, was almost as vernacular to him as the English. “ The French tongue he could also manage ; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered, but the Hebrew he most of all studied, because, he said, he would see, with his own eyes, the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty.” — *Magnal.* ii. 5.

in our walking in relation unto them; we had also, at this very time, some amongst us, that growing weary of the long peace and concord we enjoyed, and hoping to fish better in troubled waters, when their bait might be taken in, and the hook not easily discerned, would willingly have been ringing the changes in this jurisdiction; also pretending a great zeal for liberty of conscience, but endeavoring to introduce such a liberty of will as would have proved prejudicial, if not destructive, to civil and church societies; and at the same time there arrived in the said colony many of that pernicious sect called Quakers, whose opinions are a composition of many errors, and whose practices tend greatly to the disturbance both of church and state; many unstable people amongst us were leavened with their errors, and proved very troublesome to this as well as other colonies in New England.* But the Lord many times delighteth to appear in the mount of his people's miseries, distresses, and troubles, that his power and wisdom may appear when they are weakest, and that they may know that their salvation is from him. At such a time, and when the condition of this colony was such as hath been declared, God was pleased to mind it, even in its low estate, and when he had taken to himself not only our Moses, but

* Dr. C. Mather says, "That the more sensible men that go under the name of Quakers, found the old Foxian Quakerism so indefensible, that they have of later time, set themselves to refine it, with such confessions and concessions of truth, as that, in their system, it is quite another thing than it once was." — *Mag.* vii. 24.

The proceedings against the Quakers were far less severe in Plymouth colony than in Massachusetts. In regard to their persecution, Cotton Mather says, "If any man will appear in the vindication of it, let him do as he pleases, for my part I will not." Mr. Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism*, and his *Memoirs of William Penn*, give a full view of the tenets and character of this Christian Sect. See also a *Review of the Life of Penn* in the 12th vol. of the *Christian Observer*, containing a discussion of the opinions of the sect, with references to the early extravagancies of some of its members. Some of the later Quakers, at least, do not disbelieve so much as Morton ascribes to those who first settled here. See *Vindication*, annexed to the Philadelphia edition of Mosheim's *Eecl. Hist.*

many of the elders and worthies of our Israel, he hath not hitherto left us without a Joshua, to lead us in the remaining part of our pilgrimage. When the usual time for the renewing of our election, of such as should govern us, came, Mr. Thomas Prince was, by a unanimous vote, chosen governor; and although men's spirits were so distempered, as I have related, and it might have been expected that they would have been much divided in their choice; yet God, who disposeth the lot that is cast into the lap, so disposed that all their votes centered there; a good demonstration that he was chosen of God for us, and by his blessing made an instrument of much peace and settlement in this place, and to this people, in these times of trouble and confusion. The Lord also directing the free-men of this jurisdiction, at the same time, in their election, to the choice of a discreet and able council, to be assistant unto our said honored governor, in this so weighty a work, divers of them being descended of several of the honored magistrates deceased, not only bearing their names, but having a large measure of their spirit bestowed on them, befitting them for such work; so as through the goodness of God, those storms that seemed to threaten the subversion of our all, and did at first prevail, to the disturbing and shaking of many towns and churches, and to the great discouragement of the ministers in divers places, do seem to be pretty well blown over; such uncomfortable jars, as have been sometimes thought incurable, seem to be thoroughly reconciled and healed; our towns, for the most part, supplied with godly and able ministers, and we sit under our vines and fig-trees in peace, enjoying both civil and religious liberties; for which goodness of the Lord, let his holy name be praised; and may he grant us so to improve our present opportunities, as he may have some suitable returns, and we may have cause to hope in his grace for the continuance of such favors.

This year that much honored and worthy gentleman, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, governor of New Haven, deceased, who was very eminent, both on a religious and civil account. His death proved a great blow to that jurisdiction, and was

seconded, not long after, with the loss of another precious man amongst them, namely, Mr. Francis Newman.*

In this year, 1657, in the month of November, Mr. Garret set sail on a voyage for England, from Boston; in whose ship, amongst many considerable passengers, there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., of Martin's Vineyard, who was a very precious man.† He was well skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language, and had a great propensity upon his spirit to promote God's glory in their conversion, whose labors God blessed for the doing of much

* Mr. Eaton was one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, and soon after his arrival at Boston, in 1637, was chosen one of the magistrates of the Colony. He was one of the founders of New Haven, and was annually elected governor until his death. His family was numerous, sometimes containing not less than thirty persons, and was governed with singular good order and regularity. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age. A handsome monument was erected to his memory, at the public expense, which is still in good preservation; the following lines are inscribed upon it:—

Eaton, so meek, so wise, so fam'd, so just,
The Phoenix of our world here hides his dust,
His name forget, New England never must.

Trumb. Connec. i. 240.

Governor Hopkins of Connecticut, son-in-law of Governor Eaton, died about the same time, in England. To this gentleman, New England is indebted for his liberal bequests. His whole estate in this country, which was very considerable, was given away to charitable purposes.— *Trumb. Connec. I. 241.*

† In noticing the labors of the missionaries among the Indians, in the Appendix, young Mayhew, his father, son and grandson, are mentioned, and some account given of them and their successful efforts to christianize the Indians on Martha's Vineyard. In view of them and their great work and merit, we may well adopt the sentiments of Dr. Elliot:—

“If any of the human race ever enjoyed the luxury of doing good, if any Christian ever could declare what it is to have peace, not as the world gives, but which surpasses the conceptions of those who look not beyond this world,—we may believe this was the happiness of the Mayhews.” This can scarcely be called eulogy. We find nothing to qualify it. “They that turn many to righteousness shall shine like the stars forever and ever.”

Several very promising, well educated young men perished in the ship with young Mayhew.

good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, and bewailed by them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word amongst the English there. The loss of him was very great. Many other sad losses befel sundry others in the country, by the loss of that ship, both in their estates and dear relations, to the great grief and saddening of the hearts of many.

1658.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willett, Capt. Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford,* and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were elected his assistants in government.

* WILLIAM BRADFORD was the son of Gov. Bradford — the oldest son by his second wife. He was born at Plymouth, June 17, 1624. He settled in Kingston. He married, 1652, his first wife, Alice Richards, of Weymouth. He had two other wives and fifteen children. In 1658, the year after the death of his father, he was chosen one of the seven assistants of Gov. Prince, and was annually rechosen for more than thirty years, until Plymouth Colony was merged in Massachusetts. After the death of Capt. Standish in 1656, he became the principal commander of the Plymouth forces. When the commissioners of the three united colonies raised troops to prosecute the war with King Philip, he was the commander of the two Plymouth companies. All the troops being assembled at Petaquamscot, in what is now South Kingston, on the west side of Narraganset Bay, they commenced their march at an early hour, December 19, 1675, in a deep snow, in order to attack the enemy, who were fortified in a swamp about fifteen miles distant. After mid-day, the assault was made on a palisaded fort. After a fierce battle of three hours, the fort was taken, five or six hundred wigwams burnt, and the Indians killed, captured, or dispersed. The English loss was sixty-five killed, among them five or six captains, and 150 wounded. The Indian loss was reckoned at a thousand, including the captured. Maj. Bradford was wounded by a ball which he carried in his body to his death. As the army returned to Wickford the same night, the wounded men, some of whom died on the way, endured great suffering, before their wounds could be dressed. From Wickford, Maj. Bradford was removed to Newport, from which place he wrote a letter to his minister, Mr. Cotton, dated January 20, 1676, in which he said — "I find some strength returning, and hopes of future returning to see you with the rest of my dear friends; however, I do desire to rest in

This year there was a very great earthquake in New England.

Also Mr. Ralph Partridge died in a good old age, having, for the space of forty years, dispensed the word of God with a very little impediment by sickness. His pious and blameless life became very advantageous to his doctrine; he was much honored and loved by all that conversed with him. He was of a sound and solid judgment in the main truths of Jesus Christ, and very able in disputation to defend them; he was very singular in this, that, notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his flock, he continued in his work amongst

God's good pleasure. I pray, sir, be my continual remembrance to the throne of grace. Here are many sick upon this Island and many die." Before the end of June he was able to take the command of 200 troops, one third Indians, and to march to Pocasset, or Tiverton, where Awashonks, the squaw Sachem, surrendered as she had previously agreed, with ninety of her people. On the 12th of August, King Philip was slain near Mount Hope. After this Maj. Bradford lived many years. He died February 20, 1704, nearly eighty years old. His residence was on the north side of Jones river, in Kingston. According to his request, his body was interred by the side of his father in Plymouth. On his monument at "Burying Hill," the following lines are inscribed:—

"He lived long, but still was doing good;
And in his country's service lost much blood.
After a life well-spent, he's now at rest;
His very name and memory is blest."

William Bradford, his grandson, was Senator of the United States from Rhode Island. He lived at Mount Hope, and died in 1808, leaving many descendants.

From Gov. Bradford have sprung many hundred descendants, among whom are many distinguished men, as Col. Gamaliel Bradford of Duxbury, who commanded a regiment in the Revolutionary War, and his son Alden Bradford, Secretary of Massachusetts, and author of several historical works. William Allen, D. D., now living at Northampton, and late president of Bowdoin College. Rev. Thomas Robbins, D. D., of Hartford, once settled in the old Colony, but of late Secretary of Connecticut Historical Society, and much devoted to antiquarian researches.

An ample genealogy of the various families of the Bradfords may be found in the N. E. Historical Register for January and July, 1850, drawn up by a descendant—Gen. G. M. Fessenden of Warren, R. I.

them to the end of time. He went to his grave in peace, as a shock of corn fully ripe, and was honorably buried at Duxbury.

In whose remembrance, one who was a true admirer of his worth, presented these at his funeral.

Not rage, but age ; not age, but God's decree,
Did call me hence, my Saviour Christ to see,
And to embrace, and from his hand receive
My crown of Glory. Oh ! who would not leave
A flattering world, nay friends, or what's most dear,
The saint's communion that's enjoyed here,
At once to have God, Christ, saints, angels, all,
To make complete, and sum our joys total ?
Now I behold God's glory face to face ;
Now I sit down with Christ, who've run my race ;
Now I sing praise to God, and to the Lamb ;
Now I companion to the angels am.
Now I behold, with greatest joy, my sons
And daughters all ; I mean converted ones ;
Which I was instrumental in my place,
To bring to God, but all of his free grace.
How am I changed that of late was weak,
Above the force of Satan now to break ?
How am I changed, son of sorrow late,
But now triumphing in my heavenly state.
How was I vex'd with pains, with griefs molested ?
How, in a moment, am I now invested
With royal robes, with crowns, with diadems,
With God's eternal love ? Such precious gems
He hath in store for them his saints that are ;
For such indeed he counts his jewels rare.
Oh ! brethren, sisters, neighbors, country, friends,
I'm now above you ; hark to them God sends,
As yet surviving in their worthy charge ;
Whose work it is God's vineyard to enlarge.
God and my conscience your experience knows,
Whilst I was with you I was one of those
That labored faithfully God's vineyard in,
Sowing his seed, and plucking up of sin.
Now is the harvest to myself indeed ;
The Lord grant a supply of one to feed
Your souls with heavenly food, and one to lead
In ways of God, until his courts you tread.

Next to God's love, my flock, love one another ;
 And next to Christ, preserve love to thy brother.
 Let ever precious be in your esteem
 God's holy word ; and such as slight it deem
 Of serpent's brood ; whatever they pretend,
 By no means to such blasphemies attend.
 Decline all wand'rings, lest from all you stray,
 If stept aside, return in this your day.
 Keep close to God, so he that is most high
 Shall you preserve as apple of his eye ;
 And give you peace on earth, tranquillity,
 Mansions in heaven to eternity ;
 Where we, that death doth for a time now sever,
 Shall meet, embrace, and shall not part forever.

R un is his race,
 A nd his work done,
 L eft earthly place,
 P atridge is gone,
 H e's with the Father and the Son.

P ure joys and constant do attend
 A ll that so live, such is their end.
 R eturn he shall with Christ again,
 T o judge both just and sinful men.
 R ais'd is this bird of paradise ;
 I oy heaven entered breaks the ice.
 D eath underfoot he trodden hath ;
 G race is to glory straightest path,
 E ver enjoys love free from wrath.

This year, on the last day of July, it pleased God that, by thunder and lightning, one John Philips, of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, was suddenly slain.

Also, in the month of August, it pleased God to take away, by death, Mr. William Paddy, who was a precious servant of Christ, endued with a meek and quiet spirit, of a courteous behavior to all men, and was very careful to nourish an intimate communion with God. He was instrumental in his place for common good, both in church, (being sometimes by office a deacon of the church of Plimouth,) and in other respects very officious, as occasion did require. He having a great temporal estate, was occasioned thereby to have abun-

dance of business upon him, but when he was to put off his earthly tabernacle, he laid aside all his earthly incumbrances and occasions, even as one would have taken off a garment, and laid it down; and without any trouble of spirit, on that behalf, prepared himself for his journey to the everlasting mansions, prepared for him by his Lord and Master in the highest heavens, whereof he was well assured; as to the like effect he spake to Mr. Norton, near unto the period of his life; and so falling asleep in the Lord, he was buried at Boston, with honor and great lamentation, in the year and month above mentioned.

One, who was well acquainted with his worth and gracious endowments, presented this following, as a testimonial of his good respects for him.

W eep not dear wife, children, nor dear friends,
I live a life of joys that never ends.
L ove God, and fear him to end of your days;
L ive unto him, but die to sin always.
I n heavenly place of bliss my soul doth rest,
A mong the saints and angels I am blest;
M uch better here, than in the world at best.

P raising my God is now my great employ,
A bove such troubles as did me annoy.
D id but my friends know what I here possess,
D oubtless it would cause them to mourn the less;
Y our souls with mine e'er long shall meet in bliss.

1659.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

Having noted before, that in the year 1657, there arrived in the colony of New Plimouth, many of the pernicious sect, called Quakers; the reader may take notice, that by this time,

for some years after, New England, in divers parts of it, abounded with them, and they sowed their corrupt and damnable doctrines, both by word and writings, almost in every town of each jurisdiction, some whereof were, "that all men ought to attend the light within them, to be the rule of their lives and actions;" and, "that the Holy Scriptures were not for the enlightening of man, nor a settled and permanent rule of life." They denied the manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and affirmed, "that, as man, he is not in heaven." They denied the resurrection from the dead. They affirmed, "that an absolute perfection in holiness or grace, is attainable in this life." They placed their justification upon their patience and suffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life and retired demurity, and affected singularity both in word and gesture.

As to civil account, they allowed not nor practised any civil respect to man, though superiors, either in magistral consideration, or as masters or parents, or the ancient, neither by word nor gesture. They deny also the use of oaths for the deciding of civil controversies, with other abominable opinions, dreams, and conceits, which some of them have expressed, tending to gross blasphemy and atheism.

This efficacy of delusion became very prevalent with many, so as the number of them increased, to the great endangering of the subversion of the whole, both of church and commonwealth, notwithstanding the endeavors of those in authority to suppress the same, had not the Lord declared against them, by blasting their enterprises and contrivements, so as they have withered away in a great measure; sundry of their teachers and leaders, which have caused them to err, are departed the country, and we trust the Lord will make the folly of the remainder manifest to all men more and more. Error is not long-lived; the day will declare it. Let our deliverance from so eminent a danger be received amongst the principal of the Lord's gracious providences, and merciful loving-kindnesses towards New England; for the which let present and future generations celebrate his praises.

This year that learned and godly servant of God, Mr. John

Dunster, fell asleep in the Lord. He was some time president of Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New England, in which he approved himself to the satisfaction of such as were in those affairs concerned. Afterwards he came into the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, and lived awhile in the town of Scituate, and was useful in helping to oppose the abominable opinions of the Quakers, forementioned, and in defending the truth against them. He deceasing in the said town of Scituate, his body was embalmed, and removed unto Cambridge, aforesaid, and there honorably buried.*

1660.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year James Pierce, a young man that belonged to Boston, coming on fishing, and upon occasion putting into Plimouth harbor, it pleased God that a storm of thunder and

* President Dunster was celebrated, particularly, for his accurate knowledge of the Hebrew language. The New England version of the Psalms, on which the Rev. Mr. Weld and Eliot, of Roxbury, and the Rev. Mr. Mather, of Dorchester, had jointly labored, was revised and refined by President Dunster. Dr. C. Mather, though he could not commend the poetry of this performance, observes, that he had never seen a translation "nearer the Hebrew Original." In New England's First-Fruits, published in London, 1643, President Dunster's official character and mode of instruction, are mentioned with approbation. Until the monument, which Mr. Alden suggests is contemplated, shall be erected, we must be content with the Epitaph, which we find in the Magnalia, originally composed for Henry Rentz, and applied by Dr. Mather to President Dunster.

"Præco, Pater, Servus ; sonui, fovui, coluiq :

Sacra, Scholam, Christum ; voce, rigore, fide.

Famam, Animam, Corpus ; dispergit, recreat, abdit ;

Virtus, Christus, Humus ; laude, salute, sinu."

Magnal. iii. 99-101. *Hist. Coll.* i. 143.

lightning arose, and by a blow thereof he was slain of a sudden, being much scorched and burnt thereby, although his clothes were made fast and close about him; so strange was this great work to the wonderment of all that beheld it.

1661.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.


1662.


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This year, upon occasion of some suspicion of some plot intended by the Indians against the English, Philip the sachem of Pocanaket, otherwise called Metacom, made his appearance at the court held at Plimouth, August 6, did earnestly desire the continuance of that amity and friendship that hath formerly been between the governor of Plimouth and his deceased father and brother; and to that end the said Philip doth for himself and his successors desire, that they might for ever remain subject to the king of England, his heirs and successors; and doth faithfully promise and engage, that he and his, will truly and exactly observe and keep inviolable, such conditions as formerly have been by his predecessors made; and particularly that he will not at any time, needlessly or unjustly, provoke or raise war with any of the natives; nor at any time give, sell, or anyway dispose of any

lands (to him or them appertaining) to any strangers, or to any without our privy or appointment, but will in all things endeavor to carry peaceably and inoffensively towards the English.

And the said court did also express their willingness to continue with him and his, the abovesaid friendship, and do on their part promise, that they will afford them such friendly assistance, by advice and otherwise, as they justly may; and we will require our English at all times to carry friendly towards them. In witness whereof, the said Philip the sachem hath set to his hand, as also his uncle, and witnessed unto by sundry other of his chief men.

Witness, John Sausamen,
The mark  of Francis
the sachem of Nauset.

The mark  of Philip,
alias Metacom.*

* Metacom was the Indian name of Philip, the warrior. He had an elder brother, whose name was Wamsutta. Soon after the death of their father, (1656,) they desired the English to give them new names, which they did. Wamsutta, who inherited the sachemdom, was called Alexander, and Metacom, Philip. Alexander reigned but a short time, his death having been hastened by the suspicions of treachery which he knew the English entertained of him. The circumstances of his death were peculiar, and may be found in Mather's Relation, p. 70, 71. It seems by the text that Philip, on the death of his brother, repaired to the English, desiring the continuance of the friendship and league, which had existed between the Pilgrims and Massasoit, his father, and Alexander, after his father's death. It has been supposed that he did this the more effectually to conceal the hostile designs which he, even then, began to cherish against the English, excited, as some think, by the treatment which his brother had received from them. But this was in 1662, and the war broke out in 1675,—an interval of too much length to support the opinion.

Sassamon, the witness, was called Philip's secretary,—that is, wrote his letters, having been educated among the English in Massachusetts. He continued with him till the year before the war, when he left him, and, as it is said, made known Philip's designs against the English; in consequence of which (the historians relate), Philip caused him to be seized and slain. He was found concealed under the ice in Assowamsett pond. The murderers were apprehended and tried, "*de meditate lingua*," as foreigners were tried at the common law, one half of the jurymen being Indians; and they were found

This year, on the 26th of January, at the shutting in of the evening, there was a very great earthquake, in New England, and the same night another, although something less than the former.

And again on the 28th of the same month there was another about nine of the clock in the morning.*

guilty and executed. As one of the culprits was a counsellor of Philip, his punishment exasperated him to hasten on the contemplated war with the English. A sore war it proved to them and to his own people; to him and his people, indeed, total overthrow.

* In some countries earthquakes are very terrific and disastrous, and there have always been fears and agitations among the people when slight shocks have been felt in New England. Although twenty or more of them have been noticed, not more than four or five have been severe enough to excite much attention — those of 1638, 1658, 1663, 1727, and 1755. Of that in 1727, the Hon. Paul Dudley gave an account to the Royal Society, which was published in their Transactions, and much information respecting it may be obtained from the sermons on the subject, preached by several New England ministers. The last great earthquake in New England, that of November 18, 1755, was fully described, with the addition of valuable philosophical comments, by Professor Winthrop, in his Lecture at Harvard College, which was published, with the addition of copious notes, and an Appendix. The latter had reference to a theory of earthquakes, suggested by the Rev. Mr. Prince, which Dr. Winthrop considered altogether untenable; and to some strictures, made by Mr. Prince, on the Professor's manner of treating the subject, in his lecture. Dr. Williams' Observations and Conjectures on the Earthquakes of New England, published in the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, present a valuable collection of facts, diligently collected by the writer from various sources, with ingenious disquisitions, and judicious reflections on this obscure, but interesting subject. It is also said that a large portion of the *shakes* which have been thought *earth* quakes are mere aerial explosions or concussions, and are more properly *air* quakes.

As to the author's theory on these phenomena, we shall not undertake to give judgment upon it. Shakspeare has probably given the philosophy of his times upon them:—

“Diseased nature oftentimes breaks forth
In strange eruptions; oft the teeming earth
Is with a kind of cholic pinched and vexed,
By the imprisoning of unruly winds
Within her womb; which for enlargement striving,

Forasmuch as I have had special occasion several times in this history to mention divers earthquakes that have been in New England, they being great and terrible works of God, and are usually ominous to some strokes and visitations of his hand unto places and people where they are; and sometimes the Lord in the very acting of his power in them, hath declared his severity to the children of men, to their great overthrow and confusion; I thought it necessary, before I pass on, a little to point at some few particulars, to work and induce us to a profitable remembrance of them; it being very considerable that is said by a useful author, in taking notice of the wisdom of God, in preparing the earth to be a fit habitation for man to dwell in, addeth withal, that as if man were not always worthy to tread upon so solid a foundation, we see it oftentimes quake and shake, and rock and rend itself, as if it showed that he which made it, threatened by this

Shakes the old beldame earth, and topples down
Steeple and moss-grown towers."

So also says a more ancient philosopher than Shakspeare: —

"Ventos in causa esse non dubium reor."

The modern philosophers have been fertile in their theories; some consider the shock as produced by *central fires*, some by subterraneous waters breaking into the hollow places in the earth; some by the fortuitous concurrence of discordant mineral substances; some by electrical actions in the bowels of the earth; some think the shock is produced by a combination of these and such like causes. Probably a more satisfactory view of the subject may be attained by the advance of geological science. Gibbon thinks there is no science which can fathom the cause, and exhorts the philosophers to the exercise of modesty, although he gives intimations in favor of some of the causes which have been mentioned. It is now generally considered that the crust of the earth has not yet been entirely cooled and settled, and that the earth itself is still in a forming state, but that the violent phenomena are gradually diminishing. In New England, however, the agitations have not been violent, and it is not known that any lives have been destroyed by them, or that they have occasioned any material damage. The agitations and outbreaks of the passions of men in riots and insurrections, are far more to be feared than the throes and upheavings of "the old beldame earth."

trembling the impiety of the world, and the ruin of those that dwell on the earth.

In order unto that which I have nominated in this behalf and more principally intend, let us take notice, that writers have rendered the cause of earthquakes to be, that when it happeneth that air and windy spirits and exhalations are shut up in the caverns of the earth, or have such passage as is too narrow for them, they then striving to break their prisons, shake the earth, and make it tremble. They speak likewise of the several kinds of them: As,

First, When the whole force of the wind driveth to one place, there being no contrary motion to let or hinder it; many hills and buildings have been rushed down by this kind of earthquake, especially when the wind causing it was strong; for if it be a feeble wind, it only looseneth or unfasteneth foundations, if less feeble, then, without further harm, the earth only shakes, like one sick of an ague.

Secondly, The second is a swelling of the earth; the which, when the wind is broken out of its prison, the earth returns to its place again.

Thirdly, A third kind is, a gaping, rending or cleaving of the earth one part from another, so that sometimes whole towns, cities, rocks, hills, rivers, and some parts of the sea have been swallowed up, and never seen more.

Fourthly, A fourth kind is, shaking, that causeth sinking, and is far different from the former; for now the earth split-teth not, but sinketh; this being in such places, where, though the surface of the ground be solid, yet it hath but a salt foundation, which being moistened by water driven through it by the force of the shaking exhalation, is turned into water also.*

Fifthly, A fifth kind of earthquake is contrary to the former; for, as before the ground sinks down, so now it is cast up, like as in the second kind already mentioned, only this is the difference, that now it returneth not to its place again,

* Thus was the Atlantick Ocean caused to be a sea, as Plato affirmeth, who lived three hundred and sixty-six years before Christ was born.—M.

but remains a great mountain. And note, that if such a rising be in the sea, it not only causeth overflowings, but produceth likewise many islands such as were never seen before.

These particulars are treated of at large by approved authors, and here only hinted, to the intent that we may take notice of the special providence of God to New England in this behalf, that we have not as yet felt the misery of the worst of the kinds of earthquakes forenamed, nor swallowed up in them, but those who have been sensible of have been rather gentle warnings unto us, to shake us out of our earthly-mindedness, spiritual security, and other sins, lest the Lord do come against us with judgments of this kind, in the sorest and worst sort of them, or otherwise by removing the present blessing of godly government from us.

Notwithstanding that which hath been said, the efficient cause is supernatural, as either principally God, or instrumentally the angels, although naturally the wind shut up within the pores and bowels of the earth, as is before noted.

If the effects of them usually are such, as by them is sometimes a discovery of the channels of water and foundations of the world, the removing of mountains from one place to another; the cleaving of rocks and opening of graves and gates, yea, the throwing down of many famous buildings and cities, and some swallowed up, and many thousands of people destroyed thereby; the turning of plain land into mountains; the throwing down of mountains and raising up of islands in the sea, the breaking out of rivers where there were none before; the discovery of burning mountains where there were none seen before. Famines and pestilences, of which particulars divers instances might be produced out of the Sacred Scriptures, and several other authors. *Exod. xix. 18; Psal. xxix. 6; civ. 32; Matt. xxviii. 2; Psal. xviii. 15; Zech. xiv. 4; Rev. vi. 12, 14; Matt. xxvii. 51; Acts. xvi. 26.* Ought we not then to fear and tremble before so great a God, who, (as one saith,) by his handmaid nature doth so terribly shake the earth, as no land can be sure, no place so strong that can defend us? Nay, the more strong, the more dangerous; for the higher, the greater the fall. Let us therefore say with the

wise man, Eccl. iii. 14, I know that whatsoever God doth, shall stand forever; nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it, and God doth it, that men should fear before him.

This year Mr. John Brown ended this life; in his younger years travelling into the low countries, he came acquainted with, and took good liking to, the reverend pastor of the church of Christ at Leyden, as also to sundry of the brethren of that church; which ancient amity induced him (upon his coming over to New England) to seat himself in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, in which he was chosen a magistrate; in which place he served God and the country several years; he was well accomplished with abilities to both civil and religious concerns, and attained, through God's grace, unto a comfortable persuasion of the love and favor of God to him; he falling sick of a fever, with much serenity and spiritual comfort fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Wannamoisett near Rehoboth, in the spring of the year abovesaid.*

1663.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Samuel Newman, teacher of the church of Christ at Rehoboth, changed this life for a better. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Weymouth, in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and from thence removed to Rehoboth, where he continued in the work of the ministry until the end of his days. He was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and of a pious life, very hospitable, and at the

* Mr. Brown lived in Rehoboth. He was a shipwright, and several of the sons of Samuel Eddy were apprenticed to him as early as 1645, 1647; the indentures are recorded in the Old Colony records. He was also one of the commissioners of the colony, from 1644 to 1655.

close of his life very full of joy and comfort; and with cheerfulness of spirit resigned himself up to the Lord, and his spirit into the arms of his blessed Redeemer, desiring that the holy angels might do their office in transporting his soul into everlasting bliss and happiness. He fell asleep in the Lord on the fifth of July, 1663.

This year also it pleased God to put a speedy period to the life of Mr. John Norton, who was a burning and a shining light; and although the church of Boston, in a more special manner, felt the smart of this sudden blow, yet it reflected upon the whole land. He was singularly endowed with the tongue of the learned, enabled to speak a word in due season, not only to the wearied soul, but also a word of counsel to a people in necessity thereof, being not only a wise steward of the things of Jesus Christ, but also a wise statesman; so that the whole land sustained a great loss of him. At his first coming over into New England, he arrived at Plymouth, where he abode the best part of one winter, and preached the gospel of the kingdom unto them; and ever after, to his dying day, retained a good affection unto them. From thence he went to Boston, and from thence to Ipswich, in New England, where he was chosen the teacher of their church; and after the death of worthy Mr. Cotton, he was solicited, and at length obtained, to return to Boston, and there served in that office until his death. He was chosen by the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, together with the much honored Mr. Simon Bradstreet, to go over into England, as agents in the behalf of that jurisdiction, unto his Majesty and the Privy Council, upon business of greatest trust and concernment; and soon after his return, it pleased God, suddenly and unexpectedly, to take him away by death, on the fifth day of April, 1663. His body was honorably buried at Boston.* On whose much lamented death, take this following elegy.

* Mr. Norton was born in 1606. He arrived at Plymouth in October, 1635. He was an eminent scholar. Dr. Elliot quotes Mr. Fuller's approbation of his Latin letter to Appollonius, in answer to his question relative to church government. He was the author also of a Latin letter to Mr. Dury,

An elegy on the death of that eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. John Norton, the reverend teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, who exchanged this life for a better, April 5, 1663.

Ask not the reason why tears are our meat,
And none but mourners seen in ev'ry street?
Our crown, alas, is fallen from our head;
We find it off: woe to us, Norton's dead.
Our breach is like the sea, no healing's known:
To comfort Sion's daughter is there none?
Oh teach your daughters wailing every one,
Their neighbors' deepest lamentation.
Oh that mine eyes a fountain were of tears!
I'd day and night in mourning spend my years.
My father! father! Israel's chariot thou,
And horsemen wert! Sons of the prophets now,
Weep since your master from your head is taken:
This father of the muses hath forsaken
His study here, not liking our dark room,
Doth choose those mansions in his Father's home.
The schoolmen's doctors, whomsoe'er they call
Subtile, seraphic, or angelical:
Dull souls! their tapers burnt exceeding dim;
They might to school again to learn of him.
Lombard must out of date: we now profess
Norton the master of the sentences.
Scotus a dunce to him: should we compare
Aquinas here, none to be named are.
Of a more heavenly strain his notions were,
More pure, sublime, scholastical, and clear;
More like the apostles Paul and John, I wist,
Was this our orthodox evangelist.
And though an exile from his native land,
As John in Patmos was; yet here the hand
Of Christ leads forth, more clearly to espy
The New Jerusalem in her bravery.
Who more acute in judgment was than he?
More famous too for heavenly policy?

who was exerting himself for a pacification of all the reformed churches, which has been much celebrated. It was signed by more than forty New England ministers.

He was a wise and faithful counsellor,
One of a thousand, an interpreter.
Mighty in word and prayer, who could have
Whate'er almost from heaven he did crave :
On him, with things without (which I'll not name)
The care of all the churches daily came.
He car'd thus naturally : Oh hear that rod,
Which us bereaved of such a man of God !
Zealous for order, very critical
For what was truly congregational.
A pillar of our church and state was he,
But now no more, no more his face we see !
Who thought more fit of all his tribe to stand
Before our king, for favor for our land,
Lately ? but now translated is to rest,
This agent of New England's interest.
When last he preach'd, he us the pattern gave
Of all that worship Christ in's church would have ;
God then him up into the mount did call,
To have the vision beatifical.
As Thomas to the twelve said, Come let's go
And die with him ; I'd almost said so too :
I'll yet a while in tears sow, that I may,
With him, in joyful reapings live for aye.
A tomb now holds his soul's beloved shrine,
Of th' Holy Ghost, a temple most divine.
And well New England's heart may rent at this !
Wonder not reader, I so greatly miss
Fit words, his worth, our loss and grief to fame,
When as no epitaph can declare the same.

T. S.*

Not long after, namely, in the month of July, followed the death of that eminent servant of God, Mr. Samuel Stone, who was another star of the first magnitude in the firmament of New England. He was a learned, solid, and judicious divine, equally able for the confirmation of the truth, and confutation of errors. His ministry was with much conviction and demonstration, and when he set himself to application,

* Mr. Thomas Shepard, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, and was minister of Charlestown.

very powerful. He was teacher to the church of Hartford fourteen years, together with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him, thirty years in all. He died on the twentieth of July, and was honorably buried at Hartford.

A Threnodia upon our churches second dark eclipse, happening July 20, 1663, by death's interposition between us and that great light and divine plant, Mr. Samuel Stone, late of Hartford, in New England.

Last spring this summer may be autumn styl'd,
 Sad withering fall our beauties which despoil'd;
 Two choicest plants, our Norton and our Stone,
 Your justs threw down; remov'd, away are gone.
 One year brought Stone and Norton to their mother,
 In one year, April, July, them did smother.
 Dame Cambridge, mother to this darling son;
 Emanuel, Northampt' that heard this one,
 Essex, our bay, Hartford, in sable clad,
 Come bear your parts in this Threnodia sad.
 In losing one, church many lost: O then
 Many for one come be sad singing men.
 May nature, grace and art be found in one
 So high, as to be found in few or none.
 In him these three with full fraught hand contested,
 With which by each he should be most invested.
 The largest of the three, it was so great
 On him, the stone was held a light compleat,
 A stone more than the Ebenezer fam'd;
 Stone splendent diamond, right orient nam'd;
 A cordial stone, that often cheered hearts
 With pleasant wit, with Gospel rich imparts;
 Whetstone, that edgify'd th' obtusest mind;
 Loadstone, that drew the iron heart unkind;
 A pond'rous stone, that would the bottom sound
 Of Scripture depths, and bring out Arcan's found;
 A stone for kingly David's use so fit,
 As would not fail Goliah's front to hit;
 A stone, an antidote, that brake the course
 Of gangrene error, by convincing force;
 A stone acute, fit to divide and square;
 A squared stone became Christ's building rare.
 A Peter's living, lively stone (so reared)
 As 'live, was Hartford's life; dead, death is fear'd.

In Hartford old, Stone first drew infant breath,
 In New, effused his last; O there beneath
 His corps are laid, near to his darling brother,*
 Of whom dead oft he sighed, Not such another.
 Heaven is the more desirable, said he,
 For Hooker, Shepard, and Hayne's company.

E. B.†

1664.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.‡

This year a blazing star, or comet, appeared in New England, in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and the beginning of the twelfth month. Concerning which it hath been observed, that such was its motion, that, in all likelihood, it was visible to all the inhabitants of the earth; and that, also, in its motion, the blaze of it did turn to all the quarters of the world; and that by its turning according to the several aspects it had to the sun, it was no fiery meteor caused by exhalation, but that it was sent immediately by God to awake the secure world.§

I willingly close with that which Mr. Samuel Danforth hath religiously observed, as to the theological application of this strange and notable appearance in the heavens, that indeed by the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, and the

* Mr. Hooker. — M.

† Supposed to be Edward Bulkley.

‡ The line between Massachusetts and Plymouth was amicably settled this year, by a committee from each colony. It is the same which separated the old county of Suffolk from the counties of Plymouth and Bristol. — *Hutch.* i. 209.

§ The theory of comets, so interesting in the science of Astronomy, was now approaching to a high degree of improvement. More enlarged and just conceptions on this subject now prevail. The science of Astronomy has removed those crude and alarming apprehensions that formerly prevailed, and those mysterious strangers now receive a cordial welcome.

common histories of former ages, comets do usually precede and portend great calamities and notable changes.

To add a few more instances to those the said author hath well observed:—

When the Emperor Jovian attained to the empire, (succeeding the apostate Julian, under whom the church suffered much persecution,) and that under him both church and commonwealth were like to have had a flourishing time, had he not been taken away by sudden death; then also appeared a comet, showing that further trouble was yet to be expected to the church. — [Socrates, lib. 4, cap. 22.]

Again, other authors make mention of a strange comet, that was seen in the year of Christ 410, being like a two-edged sword, which portended many mischiefs and calamities, that happened both in the east and west, and such great slaughters of men were, about those days, as no age ever afforded the like. All Europe was in a manner undone; no small part of Asia was affrighted; and Africa also was not void of those evils, as war, famine, drought, and pestilence, all of them strove, as it were, to trouble the whole world.

Also, in the years 1400, 1401, 1402, and 1403, comets appeared, and great calamities followed; sundry unheard of diseases were felt, rivers dried up, and plagues were increased. Tamerlain, king of the Scythians and Parthians, with an innumerable host, invaded Asia, calling himself, The wrath of God, and the desolation of the earth. — [Read Carion, lib. 5, page 854.]

Also, in the year 1529, appeared four comets; and in the years 1530, 1532, and 1533, were seen, in each year, one.

Languet saith, that there were three within the space of two years, upon which these, and the like calamities, followed, namely, a great sweating sickness in England, which took away great multitudes of people. The Turk in the quarrel of John Vuavoida, who laid claim to the crown of Hungaria, entered the said kingdom with two hundred and fifty thousand fighting soldiers, committing, against the inhabitants

thereof, most harsh and unspeakable murders, rapes, villanies, and cruelties.

Great famine and death in Venice, and the countries thereabouts, which swept away many; the sweating sickness in Brabant, and in a great part of Germany.

Great wars likewise about the Dukedom of Millain, between the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and Francis, the French King.

About that time, also, all Lusitania, or Portugal, was struck with an earthquake, insomuch that at Ulisippo, or Lisbon, above a thousand houses were thrown down, and sixty more so shaken that they were ready to fall; with many other evils that befel those parts about that time.

And to observe what hath fallen out since this last comet appeared, will not be unuseful, either in Europe or America.

In Europe, the great contest between our own nation and the Dutch, which hath threatened bloody war; and what will be in the conclusion is known only to God. Besides other contests between the Dutch and some other of their neighbors; as also the pestilence, very hot both in England and Holland.

In America, the late and sad blow that our countrymen, at the Isle of Christopher's, received from the French.* And as to ourselves in New England, although, through the mercy of our good God, there is no breaking in, nor going out into captivity, nor complaining in our streets; yet we have been threatened with invasion by foreign force, and sometimes in expectation thereof; as also we are not to slight the hand of God in his late sore strokes in taking away so many by thunder and lightning, to the great amazement and terror of many. As also, God's continued strokes in drought, blasting, and mildew, with which much of the fruits of the

* This passage has reference to the expulsion of the English from the island of St. Christopher's by the French. "About two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants (of that island) which had been taken by the French, arriving in the spring of 1666, and more being daily expected, provision was made by the court for the relief and support of such as were necessitous." — *Hutch.* i. 236.

earth have been destroyed. All which, considered, ought to induce us to search and try our ways, and to enter into a strict and serious examination of our hearts and lives, and having found out what those sins are that are most provoking to the Majesty of Heaven, we may reform them, whether in church, in state, in family, or in persons; that so he may not stir up all his wrath, but yet may delight over us to do us good, from the beginning of the year to the end thereof.

This year it pleased God to smite the fruits of the earth, namely, the wheat, in special, with blasting and mildew, whereby much of it was utterly spoiled, and became profitable for nothing, and much of it worth little, being light and empty. This was looked at, by the judicious and conscientious of the land, as a speaking providence against the unthankfulness of many for so great a mercy, and their murmuring, expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it; as also against voluptuousness, and abuse of the good creatures of God, by licentiousness in drinking, and fashions in apparel; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended. This so sad a dispensation, with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some days in a way of humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently than ordinary. Let it also be observed, that yet in judgment he remembered mercy, by affording a plentiful harvest of other sorts of grain, so as the country suffered not in respect of the want of bread this year, but had plenty thereof.

This year also, his Majesty's commissioners, namely, Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., arrived at Boston, in New England, in the month of July; the tenor of whose commission was, in special, to reduce the Dutch at the Manhato's to his Majesty's obedience; which, in some short time, was accomplished; and the place and jurisdiction thereof, surrendered up unto his Majesty's said commissioners, who styled it by the name of New York, and placed a government over it of his Majesty's subjects, the aforesaid Colonel Richard Nichols being governor in chief there. And whereas they

were likewise commissioned to hear and determine such differences as might be amongst the colonies, in respect unto the bounds of their jurisdictions; some such differences were by them heard, and in special betwixt Plimouth and Rhode Island, and such settlement therein concluded as they were capacitated unto. As also sundry propositions were by them made to several of the respective jurisdictions, which, together with the agitations concerning them, and the answers unto them, are elsewhere extant.* They likewise presented the honored governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, as to the colony, with a gracious letter from his Majesty, the contents whereof are as followeth:—

To our trusty and well-beloved, our Governor and Council of New Plimouth, greeting:—

CHARLES REX,

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We need not enlarge upon our care of, and affection to that our plantation of New Plimouth, when we give you such a testimony and manifestation of it, in the sending of those gentlemen, persons well known unto us, and deserving from us, our trusty

* These commissioners were empowered "to visit the several colonies of New England, to hear and determine complaints and appeals, in matters civil, military, and criminal; and to provide for the peace and security of the country, according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they should receive from the king." See Hazard's Coll. ii. 638. Colonel Nicolls had three hundred troops under his command, with four frigates, for the reduction of the Dutch at Manhattan. Gov. Stuyvesant surrendered the fort and town of New Amsterdam, on the 27th of August. The place then received the name of New York, in honor of the Duke of York. On the 24th of September, Fort Orange capitulated, and was afterwards called Albany. Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, from Massachusetts, attended the commissioners by appointment from the general court. They were also joined by Gov. Winthrop, and several of the magistrates and principal gentlemen of Connecticut. From Plymouth colony they were attended by Thomas Willet, who appears by letters now existing, to have greatly recommended himself to the commissioners by his activity and intelligence. Mr. Willet was the first mayor of New York, after the conquest.

and well-beloved Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., our commissioners to visit you, and other our plantations in those parts of New England, and to give us a full and particular information and account of your present state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further acts of grace and favor from us toward you; and that both you and all the world may know and take notice, that we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured by any foreign power, or ill neighbors, than we would suffer our other subjects that live upon the same continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our care and protection will, we doubt not, be sufficient, with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force; so our care and circumspection is, no less, that you may live in peace amongst yourselves, and with those our other subjects who have planted themselves in your neighbor colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the end there may be no contentions and differences between you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdiction of your several colonies; the hearing and determining whereof we have referred to our commissioners, as the right appears by clear evidence and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent and agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice. The address you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your duty, loyalty, and affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive those commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and as may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation; which we presume will dispose you to manifest, by all ways

in your power, loyalty and affection to us, that all the world may know that you do look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience under us, as if you continued in your natural country. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court, at Whitehall, April 23, 1654, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's special command,

HENRY BENNET.*

After the said his Majesty's commissioners had visited several of the jurisdictions of New England, and were courteously entertained in every of them, the said honorable Colonel Richard Nicolls is settled at New York, for the present, being governor there, as is before noted. George Cartwright, Esq., went for England, in the latter end of the year, with Mr. Benjamin Gillam, and was taken by the Dutch, and afterwards, with some difficulty, arrived in England. Sir Robert Carr is, at the present, at Delaware, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, at Boston.†

1665.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, and Mr. James Brown, were chosen assistants to him in government.

* In Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, is a copy of the commissioners' narrative and report of their proceedings to the king.

† The said Sir Robert Carr, since that, went for England, in the year 1667. He arrived at Bristol, and died there June 1, the next day after he came ashore. About that time it was thought, by such as were judicious, that through the instigation of the said Maverick, (whose spirit was full of malignity against the country,) our both civil and religious liberties were much endangered; and the rather for that, probably, there would have been a concurrence of divers ill affected in the land, had not the Lord prevented. — M.

In the spring of this year, that honorable gentleman, Mr. John Endicot, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, changed this life for a better. He was a very virtuous gentleman, and was greatly honored and beloved of the most, as he well deserved. He arrived at Salem in the year 1628, and had the chief command of those that, at the first, there seated, and bare a deep share of the difficulties of those first beginnings, which were great, by reason especially of the great sickness and mortality that was then amongst them, as hath been before noted. There he continued, until the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts saw reason to desire his removal to Boston, for the more convenient administration of justice, as governor of the said jurisdiction, to which he was frequently elected, for many years together, with little intermission; and in which honorable service he served God and the country, until old age, and the infirmities thereof, coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was, with great honor and solemnity, interred at Boston.*

This year it pleased God to cause a sad dispensation of his hand to pass before us, in reference to the sudden death of Captain Davenport, who, in the month of July, was slain, as he lay on his bed, with a blow of thunder and lightning. He was a man of some eminency, being betruſted with the command of the castle in the Massachusetts; at which said castle he was slain as aforesaid. The more ought this so sad stroke of God to be considered, and laid to heart, and improved for our humiliation, and the amendment of our lives before the great and terrible God, who so aloud spake unto us in this so sad and awing a providence.

This year it pleased the Lord again to strike the wheat of this country, in a more general way, than the last year, with blasting and mildew, whereby the greatest part of it was spoiled, and the ploughman's hopes, in that respect, very much

* Mr. Endicot died on the fifteenth of March, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. There is a good portrait of him in one of the apartments of the State House in Boston. There also may be seen the pictures of Winthrop, Leverett, Bradstreet, and the Rev. John Higginson.

frustrated. Howbeit, the Lord still mixed with this affliction very much mercy, in sparing the other grain, whereby the country was in some good measure supplied.

1666.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. James Brown, and Lieut. John Freeman, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year it pleased God to go on in a manifestation of his displeasure against New England, in a very remarkable manner, by striking dead, in a moment, by a blow of thunder, three persons in the town of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, in the month of June, namely, one named William Shirliff, and a woman and a youth; which sad dispensation of God's hand, being considered, with some circumstances, gave cause to the beholders to be much astonished; the said Shirliff having his wife by the hand, and sitting by her to cheer her, in respect that the said storm was so fierce, he was slain, and she preserved, though in some measure scorched with the lightning; yea, he had one of his children in his arms, and himself slain, and the child preserved. We have likewise received intelligence of four more, that about that time were slain by thunder and lightning, about Piscataqua, and divers more hurt. At the time of this storm of thunder and lightning, in the which those of Marshfield died, there arose likewise a very great whirlwind, that, where it came, it tore up trees by the roots, though through mercy it did little other hurt.

It was a great while, and many years spent, since the English came into these parts, before any very considerable hurt was done by thunder and lightning, to either man, or beast, appertaining to them, although, sometimes, very fierce storms of that kind, as frequently as in these times. But

now, how doth the Lord go on gradually, in this, as in other judgments, here in New England; first, by striking cattle, and then one person at a time, and this year divers, to the number of seven, besides some cattle also.

Thus God thundereth marvellously with his voice, he worketh great things which we know not. [Job xxxvii. 5, and xxxviii. 35, and xl. 8.] He can send the lightnings that they may walk, and say, Lo here we are. Hath any an arm like God? Or can any thunder with a voice like him? By this his terrible voice he breaketh the cedars, and divideth the flames of fire, [Psalm xxix. 5, 7,] which he commissionates to do his pleasure, sometimes not only striking cedars, but great oaks, in a wonderful manner, sometimes beasts, sometimes men and women. If God's judgments have thus been abroad in the earth, how ought the inhabitants of New England to learn righteousness? [Isa. xxvi. 9.] How easily can the Lord stain the pride of our glory with a stroke of his hand? Let not the familiarness or frequency of such providences, cause them to be neglected by us, to improve them as God would have us, to fear before him, [Eccles. viii. 13,] and to turn from such iniquities, especially, as are most displeasing unto him, and to hold our lives in our hands, and to be in a readiness for his pleasure, lest knowing not our time, as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare, [Eccles. ix. 12,] so we shall be snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon us.

This year the Lord threatened the country with that infectious and contagious disease, the smallpox, which began at Boston, whereof some few died; but through his great mercy it is stayed, and none of late have died thereof.

This year the Lord likewise threatened, and, in some measure, executed his displeasure upon the country by drought; but, through his mercy, hath, of late, sent plenty of rain, for the recovering of the fruits of the earth. Although it is to be observed, that soon after a day of humiliation was observed, by some congregations, for the blessing of rain, in the drought above mentioned, that sad stroke by the

thunder and lightning, at Marshfield, fell out; so that we may say with the Psalmist unto the Lord, By terrible things in righteousness thou hast answered us, O God of our salvation.

Also this year there hath been some ground of fear of invasion by foreign enemies; but hitherto the Lord hath kept us.

This year much of the wheat is destroyed with blasting and mildew, as also some other grain, by worms, and the drought aforementioned; but the Lord hath sent much rain for the recovery of the remainder, through his great mercy.*

This year, about the middle of July, Mr. Thomas Prince, governor of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Mr. John Eliot, sen., Mr. John Eliot, jun., Mr. Samuel Arnold, Mr. John Holmes, Mr. William Brinsmead, and Mr. Thomas Cushman, gave meeting to Mr. Richard Bourn, of Sandwich, in reference to the taking notice of what proficiency the Indians, under the instruction of the said Mr. Bourn, have attained unto, in the knowledge of God in Christ, and their interest in him by faith; and to make such professions or confessions as they should openly make thereof, to the glory of God, and the satisfaction of the saints, in order unto their joining into church fellowship.

And the Lord was pleased to come in unto some of them, so as they gave good satisfaction unto the said honored and judicious persons forenamed, then assembled, in reference to the premises; so that it was concluded by them, that what had passed from the Indians, in that behalf, should be drawn up in writing, and copies thereof exhibited to the churches of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, such of them as are neighboring near unto them, and if nothing should be then objected, that then, in due and convenient time, they should be permitted and encouraged to enter into church fellowship, as aforesaid.

Now, although I doubt not but the passages of these things

* This is the third year in succession, marked by the blasting of the growth of wheat, a calamity which is first noticed, in the Memorial, in 1664. The people were discouraged from sowing wheat.

will be, in due time, published by a better pen; yet I have made bold here to insert so much as I have been informed of them, in regard that they are the first-fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, that have come on to so good perfection in this kind.

This year, in the month of December, it pleased God to take unto himself, by death, that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. William Thompson, who was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and very affectionate in the delivery thereof. It pleased God to bless his labors to the conversion of many souls. He was sometime, together with Mr. Knowles, sent unto Virginia, by the elders of the churches of the Massachusetts, being requested by a message, sent by some in Virginia, for some help in preaching God's word amongst them. The fruit and benefit of whose labors therein still remaineth upon the souls of some eminent in this land. He was elected and ordained to be pastor of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New England; in which office he served Christ many years, until old age coming upon him, and the prevailing of his melancholy distemper, did in a manner wholly disable him from that service; and Satan taking advantage thereby, he was under sad desertions and trouble of spirit. At which time the reverend elders and others of the aforesaid jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, were very officious for his recovery, and, in sense of his sad condition, offered up many prayers to God for him, and, in God's good time, they received a gracious answer; so as, in his weakness and sickness, it pleased God to come in unto his soul, and to remove the cloud of darkness that was upon his spirit, so that with much peace and comfort he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Braintree. "Mark the upright man, and behold the just; for the end of that man is peace."

1667.

Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr.

Thomas Hinkley, Mr. John Freeman, and Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, on the last day of November, being the last day of the next week, there was heard several loud noises, or reports, as if it had been guns discharged in the air, first one, distinctly, and in a short time, as it had been a volley of shot discharged. It was especially heard and observed at Nantasket, and related by sundry of them of good credit.

In the spring following, in the beginning of March, there appeared a sign in the heavens, in the form of a spear, something thicker in the midst than at either end, of a whitish, bright color; it was seen, several nights together, in the west, about an hour within the night; it stood stooping, and the one end pointing to the setting of the sun, and so settled downward, by little and little, until it quite vanished, and descended beneath our horizon. God awaken us that we be not heedless spectators of his wonderful works.*

This year, the seventh of August, it pleased the Lord to call home to himself, the reverend, ancient, and godly pastor of the church at Boston, Mr. John Wilson. He was a truly reverend and holy man of God. He came to New England in the year 1630. He was instrumental in the first beginnings of the church of Boston, having been the pastor of it three years before Mr. Cotton, twenty years with him; ten years with Mr. Norton, and four years after him; thirty-seven in all. And in all the changes of time that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, being ever low in his own eyes, and for the grace of love, he had largeness of heart as the sand of the sea, to do good to all. He was very charitable where was any signs and hopes of good; and yet, withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. He was orthodox in his

* This appearance is supposed to have been the zodiacal light, though some thought it the tail of a comet which was below the horizon. It was seen in several other places. All such unusual appearances were supposed to forebode evil. No doubt imagination assisted in giving it the spear-pointing form.

judgment, and very holy in his conversation. Very few that ever went out of the world so generally beloved and revered as this good man. He was a good man indeed, and full of the Holy Ghost. He lived to a good old age, and was full of days, and full of honor, being in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when the Lord took him to himself. He was interred with much honor and lamentation.

In the time of his languishing sickness, he was visited by the elders round about, especially on the sixteenth of May, the day after the court of election, when there being a general meeting of all the elders of the churches, at his house, they requested Mr. Wilson (because they knew not whether ever they should have the like opportunity to hear him speak again, and having been, from the first, a pillar amongst them, and of much experience in his observation of the state of things) that he would solemnly declare unto them, what he conceived to be those sins amongst us, which provoked the displeasure of God against the country. He then told them, that he had, divers times, and long feared these sins following, as chief, among others, which God was greatly provoked with, namely, Separation, Anabaptism, and Korahism.

This latter he did explain thus, namely, when people rise up as Korah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when, indeed, they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet, saith he, it is nothing for a brother to stand up, and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the doctrine and word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied, etc., and hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism, or the like, he will then turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away, etc. And, saith he, for our neglect of baptizing the children of the church, those that some call grandchildren, I think God is provoked by it.

Another sin I take to be, the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of Synods, without which the churches cannot long subsist. And so for the magistrates being Gallio like, either not caring for these things, or else not using their power and authority for the maintenance of the truth, and

gospel and ordinances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the bearing thorough witness against the contrary. Should the Lord leave them hereunto, how miserable a people should we be!

At night, the assembly being dismissed with prayer, Mr. Wilson did, (being desired by them so to do,) in a solemn manner, bless the elders, making a short prayer, saying, "I am not like long to be with you; the Lord pardon us, and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning and shining lights, by our heavenly doctrine and example. And I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless his churches, and to bless all his people, and to bless all your families, and to bless your wives, and to bless all your children, and your children's children; and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and bring us all to it in his good time," etc. These words, with some few other, he spake with great affection, and with tears; and all the ministers wept with him, and they took their leave of him, even as children of their father, who having blessed them, was about to die.

Upon the death of that reverend, aged, ever honored, and gracious servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of a church in Boston. Interred August 8, 1667.

Ah! now there's none who does not know,
 That this day in our Israel,
 Is fall'n a great and good man too,
 A Prince, I might have said as well:
 A man of princely power with God,
 For faith and love of princely spirit;
 Our Israel's chariots, horsemen good,
 By faith and prayer, though not by merit.
 Renown'd for practick piety
 In Englands both, from youth to age;
 In Cambridge, Inns-Court, Sudbury,
 And each place of his pilgrimage.
 As humble as a little child,
 When yet in real worth high-grown:
 Himself a nothing still he stil'd,
 When God so much had for him done

In love, a none-such ; as the sand,
With largest heart God did him fill ;
A bounteous mind, an open hand,
Affection sweet, all sweet'ning still.
Love was his life ; he dy'd in love ;
Love doth embalm his memory ;
Love is his bliss and joy, above
With God now who is love for ay :
A comprehending charity
To all, where ought appear'd of good ;
And yet in zeal was none more high
Against th' apparent serpent's brood.
To truth he ever constant was,
In judgment wond'rous orthodox ;
In truth's cause never fearing face,
As if he were another Knox.
The prelates and their impositions
Did never him conformist make,
But to avoid those superstitions,
Great worldly hopes did he forsake.
When in New England, error's wind
From sundry other quarters blew ;
No one could him conforming find,
Nought from the line of truth him drew.
Firm stood he 'gainst the familist,
And Antinomian spirit strong ;
He never lov'd the Sep'ratist,
Nor yet the Anabaptist's throng.
Neither the tolerator's strain,
Nor Quaker's spirit could he brook ;
Nor bow'd to the Morellian train,
Nor children's right did overlook.
Nor did he slight our liberties,
In civil and in church concerns,
But precious were they in his eyes,
Who stood among their fixed friends.
Grave saint in England twice did give
This farewell word to him ; While you
Shall in that place (New England) live,
No hurt shall happen thereunto.
Strange word, and strangely verif'y'd !
He this day goes to's grave in peace,
What changes sad shall us betide,
Now he is gone, we cannot guess !
What evil are we hast'ning to !

Lord spare thy people, but awaken,
 When such away do from us go,
 That yet we may not be forsaken !
 He a first corner-stone was laid
 In poor New England's Boston's wall :
 Death pulls this out, the breach is wide :
 Oh let it not now tumble all !
 He's now at rest and reigns in bliss ;
 In conflicts we are left behind,
 In fears and straits ; how shall we miss
 His faith, prayer, zeal, and peaceful mind.
 Lord, pour a double portion
 Of his sweet, gracious, pious spirit,
 On poor survivors ; let each one
 Somewhat thereof at least inherit !
 Gaius, our host, ah now is gone !
 Can we e'er look for such another ?
 But yet there is a mansion,
 Where we may all turn in together.
 No moving inn, but resting-place,
 Where his blest soul is gathered ;
 Where good men going are a pace
 Into the bosom of their Head.
 Ay, thither let us haste away,
 Sure heaven will the sweeter be,
 (If there we ever come to stay)
 For him, and others such as he.

J. M.

*Upon the death of that most reverend man of God, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of
 the first church in Boston, in New England ; whose decease was August 7,
 1667.*

JOHN WILSON,

ANAGR.

JOHN WILSON,

Oh change it not ! No sweeter name or thing,
 Throughout the world, within our ears shall ring.

Whoso of Abr'am, Moses, Samuel reads,
 Or of Elijah, or Elisha's deeds,
 Would surely say their spirit and power was his,
 And think there were a Metempsychosis,

Yea, like John Baptist in the wilderness,
So was our John in Patmos here, no less.
John, the divine, resembling therefore rather,
And of New England's prophets was the father,
John, the divine, whose life a revelation
Of faith and love, and Christ to admiration,
John, the divine, whom Jesus lov'd most dear,
Sweet'ned with leaning on his bosom here :
This is that John, whose death who doth not moan,
Hath sure no heart of flesh, but one of stone.
He had the countries faith, and love, and zeal,
Even grace enough for church and common-weal ;
Whereby was propt up all the fabrick still,
That else had tumbled down our Sion hill.
Of meerly men deserving glory more,
You'll find nor martyr, nor a confessor,
Inspir'd he was with the prophetick spirit
Of all the prophets, which he did inherit.
'Twixt an apostle and evangelist,
His order standeth in the heavenly list.
If Paul himself among us dead had been,
More tears or sorrow could not have been seen.
They wept not more for this, that they should see
His face no more, than now we mourners be.
For heavenly poems most angelical,
Composing volumes with delight, were all
But gathered up in one, we should espy
Enough to fill an university.
And were another psalm-book made by thee,
(Mictam of John) their title it should be.
As aged John th' apostle us'd to bless
The people, which they judg'd their happiness :
So we did count it worth our pilgrimage
Unto him, for his blessing in his age ;
Yet then, no babe more longing for the breast,
Than he to take within the church his rest,
To have the sincere milk of God's good word,
Which to his soul all comfort did afford.
Not heat, nor cold, nor rain, nor snow, must bar ;
But everywhere becomes an auditor.
Who ever labored in the ministry,
More given, than he, to hospitality ?
To strangers, widows, fatherless, and all ;
To friends and foes he was most liberal.

Of all his prayers, sermons, travels, pains,
 He is ascended heaven to reap the gains.
 Oh for a double portion of thy spirit!
 No richer treasure would we all inherit.

Mæstus apposuit.

T. S.*

1668.

This year it pleased God to visit New England with the manifestation of his displeasure, by the death of three eminent instruments; the first whereof was that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Shepard, pastor of the church of Christ in Rowley, in New England, who deceased in the spring of this year, in the midst of his days, and in the beginning of his work in the ministry.† The second, that worthy man of God, Mr. Henry Flint, teacher of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New England, who ended his mortal life the 27th of April, in this year; a man of known piety, gravity, and integrity, and well accomplished with other qualifications fit for the work of the ministry. The third and last, but not the least, that supereminent minister of the gospel, (rightly so called.) Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the church at Cambridge, in New England, who laid down his earthly tabernacle on the ninth of July, in this year. Of whose rare endowments, and the great loss the whole land sustained by his death, take this following brief account.

Mr. Jonathan Mitchell was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in England, of pious and wealthy parents, who coming over to New England, brought him over young; his education in learning was perfected at Harvard College, in Cambridge, where he attained to such a degree in knowledge, that he was soon called to be a fellow of the college, and, within a

* These lines were written by the Rev. Thomas Shepard. — *Magnal.* iii. 49.

† Mr. Shepard was second son of Rev. Mr. Shepard of Cambridge. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1658, and was ordained at Rowley, about six years before his death. — *Eliot's Biog. Dict.*

few years after, his lustre did so shine, that the church at Hartford, upon Connecticut river, made application to him in order to supply the place of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, a little before deceased; but the church at Cambridge, (by the advice of their worthy pastor, Mr. Thomas Shepard, then living,) not willing to part with so great a treasure, became competitor with Hartford, and gave him a call to them. This loving strife, between the two churches of Hartford and Cambridge, about him, was, in a short time, decided by the awful hand of God, in the death of that eminent and glorious star, Mr. Thomas Shepard, pastor at Cambridge; which place being wholly destitute, and Hartford being supplied with a teacher, namely, that worthy of the Lord, Mr. Samuel Stone, the balance was cast for Cambridge, and in the year 1650, he was called and ordained their pastor. It was an eminent favor of God to that church, to have this great breach thus made up, with a man so much of the spirit and principles of their former pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the College: for, reason and prudence requireth, that the minister of that place be more than ordinarily endowed with learning, gravity, wisdom, orthodoxness, ability, sweet and excellent gifts in preaching, that so the scholars which are devoted and set apart, in order to be preachers of the gospel, might be seasoned with the spirit of such an Elijah; in which regard, this holy man of God was eminently furnished, and his labors wonderfully blessed; for very many of the scholars, bred up in his time, (as is observed,) do savor of his spirit, for grace and manner of preaching, which was most attractive. He lived pastor of the church about eighteen years, and was most intense and faithful in declaring much of the counsel of God. He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus; and delivered many fruitful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John; and, in his monthly lectures, which were abundantly frequented, he preached of man's misery by sin, and recovery by Christ Jesus; and died in the third part of it, namely, concerning man's obedience in

Christ; besides many other excellent truths, by him taught, upon divers occasions. In all his labors, God was wonderfully present with him. He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; surpassing in public-spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth, against all oppugners of it. In a word, he was a man whom God had richly furnished, and eminently fitted for his work; lived desired, and died lamented, by all good Christians that knew him. It pleased God upon the ninth of July, 1668, in a hot and burning season, (but much more hot in the heat of God's anger to New England,) to take him to rest and glory, about the 43d year of his age. His race was but short, but the work he did was very much. The elegies following may give the reader a further account of what esteem he was.*

Upon the death of that truly godly, reverend, and faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the Church at Cambridge, who deceased July 9, 1668.

What shall we say? Of sad effects what fear?
 Four splendent stars extinguish'd in one year!
 Two old, one young, and this of middle age;
 A brightest light, most eyes who did engage,
 The Lord in's temple is, earth silence keep;
 Dispute not over bold this judgment deep.
 A mourning great, each eye distilling streams:
 Sad sighs and sobs in most men's mouths their themes.
 And who can blame it? for this we well may,
 If love, if fear, if temple-shakes bear sway.
 The wife hath lost her head, four hopeful stems
 A father; Cambridge too their crowning gems;
 Neighbors, a useful light; elders, a brother,
 Whose head and mouth made him, to most, a father.
 Sad Cambridge, when thou lost thy Thomas dear,
 God pitied thee, and gave a right compeer;

* There is an elaborate life of this eminent man in the *Magnalia*, (iv. 166-185,) which is faithfully abridged in the *History of Cambridge*. — *Hist. Coll.* viii. 47-51.

This Jonathan thy Mitchell, one in whom
 Was much of EL, a Michael judged by some.
 Right strong in school, in desk of brightest shine ;
 Artist, good linguist, high orthodox divine ;
 Of judgment deep ; of memory how large !
 Invention quick, grave, pleasant ; who can charge
 Thee, in thy theory or practic, with dark fail ?
 Humble, sincere, whose love cords did avail.
 Much good by him, you Cambridge have received,
 He gone, by you his relicts see'd reliev'd.
 A royal quære, 'twas when Jonathan dead,
 And royal act, Jonathan's stems to feed.

E. B.*

To the memory of that learned and reverend Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, late minister of Cambridge, in New England, interred July 10, 1668.

Quicquid agimus, quicquid patimur venit ex alto.

The country's tears, be ye my spring ; my hill,
 A general grave ; let groans inspire my quill,
 With an heart rending sense, drawn from the cries,
 Of orphan churches, and the destinies
 Of a bereaved house : let children weep,
 They scarce know why ; and let the mothers steep
 Her lifeless hopes in brine ; the private friend
 O'erwhelmed with grief, falter, his comforts end,
 By a warm sympathy let fev'rish heat
 Roam through my verse unseen ; and a cold sweat
 Limning despair attend me ; sighs diffuse
 Convulsions through my language, such as use
 To type a gasping fancy ; lastly shroud
 Religion's splendor in a mourning cloud,
 Replete with vengeance for succeeding times,
 Fertile in woes, more fertile in their crimes.
 These are my muse, and these inspire the sails
 Of fancy with their sighs instead of gales.
 Reader, read rev'rend Mitchell's life, and then
 Confess the world a Gordian knot again.
 Read his tear-delug'd grave, and then decree
 Our present woe and future misery ;

* The Rev. Edward Bulkley of Concord, is supposed to be intended by these initials.

Stars falling speak a storm. When Samuel dies,
Steel may expect Philistia's cruelties.
So when Jehovah's brighter glory fled
The temple, Israel was captive led.
Geneva's triple light made one divine ;
But here that vast triumvirate combine
By a blest Metempsychosis, to take
One person for their larger Zodiac.
In sacred censures, Farrel's dreadful scroll
Of words, broke from the pulpit to the soul.
(Indulgent parents when they spare, they spoil,
Old wounds need vinegar as well as oil.
Distasteful cates with miseries do suit ;
The Paschal lamb was eat with bitter fruit) ;
In balmy comforts, Viret's genius came
From the wrinkled Alps to woo the western dame ;
And courting Cambridge, quickly took from thence,
Her last degrees of rhetoric and sense.
Calvin's Laconics through his doctrines spread,
And children's children with their manna fed.
His exposition Genesis begun,
And fatal Exodus eclips'd his sun.
Some say that souls of sad presages give ;
Death-breathing sermons taught us last to live.
One sows, another reaps, may truly be,
Our grave instruction and his elegy.
His system of religion half unheard,
Full double in his preaching life appear'd.
Happy that place where rulers deeds appear,
I' th' front of battle, and their words i' the rear.
He's gone, to whom his country owes a love,
Worthy the prudent serpent and the dove.
Religion's Panoply, the sinner's terror,
Death summon'd hence sure by writ of error,
The Quaker trembling at his thunder, fled,
And with Caligula resum'd his bed.
He by the motions of a nobler spirit,
Clear'd men, and made their notions swine inherit,
The Munster goblin by his holy flood,
Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantasma stood.
Brown's babel shatter'd by his lightning fell ;
And with confused horror pack'd to hell.
The Scripture with a commentary bound,
(Like a lost calice) in his heart was found.
When he was sick, the air a fever took,
And thirsty Phœbus quafft the silver brook.

When dead the spheres in thunder clouds and rain,
 Groan'd his elegium, mourn'd and wept our pain,
 Let not the brazen Schismatic aspire ;
 Lot's leaving Sodom, left them to the fire.
 'Tis true, the bee's now dead, but yet his sting,
 Death's to their dronish doctrines yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

Here lies within this comprehensive span,
 The churches, courts, and countries Jonathan,
 He that speaks Mitchell, gives the schools the lie ;
 Friendship in him gain'd an ubiquity.

F. D.

Vivet post funera virtus.

*An epitaph upon the deplored death of that supereminent minister of the
 gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell.*

Here lies the darling of his time,
 Mitchell expired in his prime ;
 Who four years short of forty-seven,
 Was found full ripe and pluck'd for heaven.
 Was full of prudent zeal and love,
 Faith, patience, wisdom from above ;
 New England's stay, next age's story ;
 The churches gem ; the college glory.
 Angels may speak him ; ah ; not I,
 (Whose worth's above Hyperbole)
 But for our loss, wer't in my power,
 I'd weep an everlasting shower.

J. S.*

A fourth minister that died this year was Mr. John Eliot, jun., born at Roxbury, in New England, eldest son of the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church there. He was educated at Cambridge, in the Latin school, and in the College, until he became master of arts ; and a few years after was called to be pastor of a church within the bounds of Cambridge, upon the south side of Charles river. He was a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with gifts of nature, learn-

* Probably Rev. John Sherman, minister of Watertown.

ing, and grace; of comely proportion, ruddy complexion, cheerful countenance; of quick apprehension, solid judgment, excellent prudence; learned both in tongues and arts for one of his time, and studiously intense in acquiring more knowledge. His abilities and acceptance in the ministry did excel; his piety, faith, love, humility, self-denial, and zeal, did eminently shine upon all occasions. He had (under the conduct of his father) by his diligence, industry, and zeal, (for the good of souls,) attained to such skill in the Indian language, that he preached to the Indians sundry years; travelling many miles in a day once a fortnight, to dispense the gospel to them. The Indians have often said, that his preaching to them was precious and desirable; and consequently their loss, and the obstruction in that work, much to be lamented. In a word, there was so much of God in him, that all the wise and godly who knew him, loved and honored him in the Lord, and bewailed his death; which fell upon the 13th day of October, 1668, and of his age about thirty-five years.

I shall close up this small history with a word of advice to the rising generation, that as now their godly predecessors have had large experience of the goodness and faithfulness of God, for the space of near forty-six years, (some of them,) and have passed under various dispensations, sometimes under great afflictions, otherwhile the sun shining upon their tabernacles in ways of peace and prosperity; and yet notwithstanding, through the grace of Christ, the most of them have held their integrity in his ways; that so, such as succeed them would follow their examples so far as they have followed Christ; that it might not be said of them, as it is to be feared it may be, by what yet appears amongst many of them, that indeed God did once plant a noble vine in New England, but it is degenerated into the plant of a strange vine, Jer. ii. 21. It were well that it might be said that the rising generation did serve the Lord all the days of such as in this our Israel are as Joshua's amongst us, Josh. xxiv. 31. And the elders that over-lived him, which have known all the works of the Lord, which he hath done for their fathers. But if yet, not-

withstanding, afterwards, such shall forget, and not regard those, his great works, here presented before them, besides many more, that I hope by some others may come to their view; be they assured, he will destroy them, and not build them up, Psal. xxviii. 5. Oh, therefore, let the truly godly in this land, be incited by the example of Moses, as the mouth of the church, to pray earnestly and incessantly unto the Lord, that his work may yet appear to his servants, and his glory unto their children, Psal. xc. 16; Isa. xlv. 3, 4. And that he would pour out his spirit upon his church and people in New England, and his blessing upon their offspring, that they may spring up as among the grass, and as the willows by the water-courses; that so great occasion there may be thereby of taking notice thereof in succeeding generations, to the praise and glory of God. So be it.

A

SUPPLEMENT
TO
NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL,
BY ANOTHER HAND.*

1669.

THIS year, 1669, was rendered sorrowful and remarkable, by the death of Capt. Thomas Southworth, who, full of faith and comfort, expired at Plimouth, December the 8th, being about fifty-three years old, after he had served God in his generation, faithfully, both in a public, and private station.

Thomas Prince, Esq., was again chosen governor of this colony for this year, and so annually to the year 1672; and, March 29, 1673, finished his course, in the seventy-third year of his life; having been a worthy, pious gentleman, and very capable of the office of governor, which he sustained about eighteen years, being therein a terror to evil doers, and an encourager of those that did well; and was honorably interred at Plimouth, April 8, 1673.

To whom succeeded as governor, at the next election, June 3, 1673, the Hon. Josias Winslow, Esq., son of the same

* The author of this Supplement, was the Hon. Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth, son of the Rev. John Cotton, sometime minister of that town. His mother, Joanna, was a daughter of Dr. Brian Rossiter, of Guilford, in Connecticut. He graduated, at Harvard College, in 1698, and died in 1756, aged 77.

Governor Winslow, in whose time, namely, June 24, 1675, broke out the Indian war by Philip, chief sachem of Pockanockett, alias Mount Hope, wherein God, for our sins, was pleased to render the Indians a great scourge to his people in this, and the other colonies of New England, both in their persons and estates. The war being attended with the usual barbarity of the heathen, burning of houses, murdering of men, women, and children; desolation of towns and settlements; tedious and terrible captivities, and continual fears and dangers; the Indians spreading themselves far and near, and effecting with their hands the revenge and malice of their hearts, until that God Almighty regarding our prayers, and succeeding our endeavors, put a stop unto the outrages of the heathen, in the year 1676, when Philip, the perfidious aggressor in the war, was slain on his own plantation near Mount Hope, (now Bristol,) by one of his own countrymen; and others who had a great hand in our distresses, brought to condign punishment, or forced to fly their own country.

Thus God preserved the vine, which his own right hand had planted, and has enlarged our borders, by giving to us the heritage of the heathen, which they justly forfeited by their unreasonable rebellion.

Oh! that the people of this, and the other colonies, would praise the Lord for his goodness, and wonderful works unto them, that so he may not be provoked to kindle such a fire amongst them.

But a more particular account of this war has been faithfully recorded by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and Dr. Increase Mather, and others, to which I refer the reader.

This Governor Winslow was annually chosen to that office to the year 1680; and in December, 1680, after many escapes in perilous fights and dangerous voyages, death arrested him, at his seat in Marshfield, within the jurisdiction of New Plimouth, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was a worthy and well-accomplished gentleman, deservedly beloved by the people, being a true friend to their just liberties, generous, facetious, affable, and sincere, qualities incident to the family.

In 1681, June 7th, Thomas Hinckley, Esq., was chosen governor, and by annual election, continued to 1686.

In the year 1685, the government being much enlarged through the divine benediction upon their labor and industry; the colony was divided into three counties, namely, The county of Plimouth, of which the shire town is Plimouth.

The county of Barnstable, the shire town Barnstable.

The county of Bristol, Bristol being the shire town.

In the county of Plimouth, are now ten towns, namely, Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Bridgewater, Abington, Pembroke, Plimpton, Middleborough, and Rochester.

In the county of Barnstable, are eight towns, namely, Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Eastham, Truro, Falmouth, and Chatham.

In the county of Bristol, are twelve towns, namely, Bristol, Rehoboth, Swanzey, Taunton, Dighton, Norton, Barrington, Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, Little Compton, and Attleborough.

In December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andross arrived at Boston with a large commission from his Majesty, King James the Second, comprehending the governments of the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, etc., who continued our governor till the happy and glorious Revolution under King William and Queen Mary of blessed memory.

In April, 1689, Sir Edmund Andross being dismissed from his government, each colony reassumed their former powers, and Mr. Hinckley was annually elected governor to the year 1691.

Our last election of governor, deputy governor, and assistants, being June 2, 1691, the said Mr. Hinckley was chosen governor, and William Bradford, Esq., deputy governor, John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lothrop, John Thatcher, John Walley, John Cushing, assistants; and Mr. Samuel Sprague, secretary.

And note, that Constant Southworth, James Brown, and James Cudworth, first chosen, between the year 1670 and 1675, assistants in government, are the only assistants, whose

names are not mentioned in this book, and therefore here inserted.

In the year 1690, was the unsuccessful attempt on Canada, in which Plimouth bore its part both of charge and loss.

And in the same year the Massachusetts sending over their agents to England, with whom went the Rev. Mr. Ichabod Wiswall from Plimouth Colony, obtained of King William and Queen Mary, a charter, containing many valuable privileges, wherein Plimouth (with some other additions) was united to the Massachusetts, and incorporated into one real province, by the name of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England; the King reserving to himself and successors, the power of appointing governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary; and, consonant to this new constitution, Sir William Phips, knight, being commissioned our first governor, arrived at Boston with the new charter, May, 1692; under which constitution we have ever since continued.

GOV. BRADFORD'S HISTORY

OF

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

For a more complete account of the church which went into exile in Holland, and its pilgrimage to Plymouth, we here give such portions of Gov. Bradford's History, found upon the church records at Plymouth, as are not found in the preceding pages of the Memorial.

MORTON'S PREFACE.

CHRISTIAN READER:—

I have looked at it as a duty incumbent on me to commit to writing the first beginnings and after progress of the Church of Christ at Plymouth in New England; forasmuch as I cannot understand that there is any thing particularly extant concerning it, and almost all the members of the said church, both elders and others, being deceased, by whom intelligence of matters in that behalf might be procured. I dare not charge the reverend elders of that church who are gone to their rest, with any neglect on that behalf; for when they were in Holland, they were necessitated to defend the cause of Christ by writing against opposites of several sorts; so as such like employs, together with the constant and faithful discharge of the duties of their offices, probably took up the greatest part of their time; and since the church parted, and a considerable part thereof came unto this going down of the sun, it might be neglected partly on the account that divers writings, some whereof being put forth in print, did point at and in a great measure discriminate the affairs of the church; forasmuch as then the small commonwealth, in our first beginning at New Plymouth, consisted mostly of such as were members of the church which was first begun and afterwards carried on in Leyden, in Holland, for about the space of twelve years, and continued and carried on at Plymouth, in New England, a small part whereof remaineth

until this day. If any thing was done on this kind by those worthy leaders, I suppose the blame is rather to be laid on those which had the first view of their studies, and had their books and writings in custody after their decease; for I am persuaded that such was their faithfulness and prudence, as that they did not wholly neglect this matter.

Some years since it pleased God to put an impulse upon my spirit to do something in a historical way concerning New England, more especially with respect to the Colony of New Plymouth; which was entitled "New England's Memorial;" in which I occasionally took notice of God's great and gracious work in erecting so many churches of Christ in this wilderness. But it was judged by some that were judicious that I was too sparing and short in that behalf; the consideration whereof put me on thought of recollecting something more particularly relating to the church of Plymouth. But it pleased the Lord so to dispose, that having accomplished my desires, some time after the finishing of this work I was solicited to lend it to a reverend friend at Boston, where it was burned in the first fire that was so destructive at Boston, in the year 1676. Yet, notwithstanding, I have, through the goodness of God, crowded through many difficulties to achieve it the second time; and, for that end, did once again repair to the study of my much honored uncle, William Bradford, Esquire, deceased, for whose care and faithfulness in such like respects we stand bound; as firstly and mostly to the Lord, so secondarily to him and his, whose labors in such respect might fitly have been published to the world, had they not been involved in and amongst particulars of other nature.

Gentle reader, I humbly crave thy patience, and acceptance of this small treatise, so as to read it over considerately; wherein so doing thou wilt discern much of the goodness, mercy, and power of God; who as at the first brought this fabric of the world out of the womb of nothing, hath brought so many famous churches of Christ out of so small beginnings; with many other useful considerations that thou

mayest meet with in the serious perusal thereof. So leaving thee and this small work to the blessing of the only wise God,

I remain thine in Christ Jesus,

NATHANIEL MORTON.

Plymouth, in New England, January 13th, 1680.



INTRODUCTION.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST AT PLYMOUTH, IN NEW ENGLAND, AS FOLLOWETH.*

It is well known to the godly and judicious, how that ever since the first breaking out of the light of the gospel in our honorable nation of England,—which was the first of nations whom the Lord adorned therewith, after that gross darkness of Popery, which had covered and overspread the Christian world,—what wars and oppositions ever since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the saints from time to time, in one sort or other; sometimes by bloody death and cruel torments, otherwhiles imprisonments, banishments, and other hard usages; as being loth his kingdom should go down, the truth prevail, and the churches of God revert to their ancient purity, and recover their primitive order, liberty, and beauty. But when he could not prevail by these means against the main truths of the gospel, but that they began to take rooting in many places, being watered with the blood of the martyrs and blessed from heaven with a gracious increase; he then began to take him to his ancient stratagems, used of old against the first Christians; that when by the bloody and barbarousness of the heathen emperors he could not stop and subvert the course of the gospel, but that

* This was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, governor of New Plymouth. — *Side note by Morton.*

it speedily overspread with a wonderful celerity to the then best known parts of the world, he then began to sow errors, heresies, and wonderful desertions amongst the professors themselves, working upon their pride and ambition, with other corrupt passions incident to all mortal men, yea to the saints themselves in some measure; by which woful effects followed, as not only bitter contentions and heart-burnings, schisms, with other horrible confusions, but Satan took occasion and advantage thereby to foist in a number of vile ceremonies, with many unprofitable canons and decrees, which have since been as snares to many peaceable poor souls even to this day; so, as in the ancient times the persecution by the heathen and their emperors was not greater than of the Christians, one against another, the Arians' and other their accomplices' against the orthodox and true Christians (as witnesseth Socrates in his second book, saith he) "was no less than that of old practised towards the Christians when they were compelled and drawn to sacrifice to idols; for many endured sundry kinds of torments, others racking, and dismembering of their joints, confiscating of their goods, some bereaved of their native soil, others departed this life under the hands of the the tormentor, and some died in banishment, and never saw their country again."

The like method Satan hath seemed to hold in these latter times, since the truth began to spring and spread after the great defection made by Antichrist, the Man of Sin. For to let pass the many examples in sundry nations, in several places of the world, and instances of our own, when as the old serpent could not prevail by those fiery flames, and other his cruel tragedies, which he by his instruments put in ure everywhere in the days of Queen Mary and before, he then began another kind of war, and went more closely to work, not only to oppugn, but even to ruate and destroy the kingdom of Christ by more secret and subtile means, by kindling the flames of contention and sowing the seeds of discord and bitter enmity amongst the professors and seeming reformed themselves. For when he could not prevail by the former means against the principal doctrines of faith, he bent his force

against the holy discipline and outward regimen of the kingdom of Christ, by which those holy doctrines should be confirmed, and true piety maintained amongst the saints and people of God.

Mr. Fox recordeth how that, besides those worthy martyrs and confessors which were burned in Queen Mary's days, and otherwise tormented, many, both students and others, fled out of the land, to the number of eight hundred, and became several congregations at Wesel, Frankfort, Basle, Emden, Markpurge, Strasburg, and Geneva, etc. Amongst whom, especially those at Frankfort, began a bitter war of contention and persecution about the ceremonies and service-book, and other popish and antichristian stuff, the plague of England to this day, which are like the high places in Israel which the prophets cried out against, and were their ruin; which the better part sought, according to the purity of the gospel, to root out and utterly destroy, and the other part, under veiled pretences, for their own ends and advancement, sought as stiffly to continue, maintain, and defend; as appeareth by the Discourse thereof published in print anno 1575, a book that deserves better to be known and considered than it is.* The one side labored to have the right worship of God and discipline of Christ established in the church according to the simplicity of the gospel, without the mixture of men's inventions, and to have and to be ruled by the laws of God's word, dispensed in those offices and by those officers of pastors and teachers and elders, according to the Scriptures. The other party, though under many colors and pretences, endeavored to have the episcopal dignity, after the popish manner, with their large power and jurisdiction, still retained, with all those court canons and ceremonies, together with all

* "A Brief Discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort, in Germany, anno Domini 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishmen there to the end of Queen Mary's reign; in the which Discourse the gentle reader shall see the very original and beginning of all the contention that hath been, and what was the cause of the same. 1575." Two editions of this book are in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

such livings, revenues, and subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their antichristian greatness, and enabled them with lordly and tyrannous power to persecute the poor servants of God.

This contention was so great, as neither the honor of God, the common persecution, nor the mediation of Mr. Calvin and other worthies of the Lord in those places, could prevail with those thus episcopally minded; but they proceeded by ill means to disturb the peace of this poor persecuted church, so far as to charge very unjustly and ungodlily (yet prelate like) some of their chief opposers with rebellion and high treason against the Emperor, and other such crimes. And this contention died not with Queen Mary, nor was left beyond the seas. But at her death, these people returning into England, under gracious Queen Elizabeth, many of them preserved aspired to bishoprics and other promotions, according to their aims and desires; so that inveterate hatred against the holy discipline of Christ in his church hath continued to this day; insomuch that, for fear it should prevail, all plots and devices have been used to keep it out, incensing the Queen and State against it as dangerous to her commonwealth; and that it was most needful for the fundamental points of religion should be preached in those ignorant and superstitious times, and to win the weak and ignorant, they might retain divers harmless ceremonies; and though it were to be wished that divers things were reformed, yet this was not a season for it; and many the like, to stop the mouths of the more godly, to bring them on to yield to one ceremony after another and one corruption after another; by these wiles beguiling some and corrupting others, until at length they began to persecute all the zealous professors in the land, (although they knew little what this discipline meant), both by word and deed, if they would not submit to their ceremonies and become slaves to them and their popish trash, which have no ground in the word of God, but are relics of the man of sin. And the more the light of the gospel grew, the more they urged their subscriptions to these corruptions, so as notwithstanding all their former pretences and fair colors, they

whose eyes God had not justly blinded might easily see whereto these things tended. And to cast contempt the more upon the sincere servants of God, they opprobriously and most injuriously gave unto and imposed upon them that name of Puritans,* which is said the Novatians, out of pride, did assume and take unto themselves. And lamentable it is to see the effects which have followed. Religion hath been disgraced, the godly grieved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled; sundry have lost their lives in prisons and other ways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced, ignorance, profaneness, and atheism increased, the Papists encouraged to hope again for a day.

This made that holy man Mr. Perkins cry out in his Exhortation unto Repentance, on Zephaniah ii., "Religion," saith he, "hath been amongst us this thirty-five years. But the more it is published, the more it is contemned and reproached of many, etc. Thus not profaneness nor wickedness, but religion itself is a byword, a mocking-stock, and matter of reproach, so that in England at this day, the man or woman that begins to profess religion and to serve God, must resolve with himself to sustain mocks and injuries, even as though he lived amongst the enemies of religion; and this common experience hath been too apparent."

But before I pass on, I cannot omit an observation worthy to be noted, which was observed by the author, namely, Mr. William Bradford, as followeth.

Saith he: Full little did I think that the downfall of the bishops, with their courts, canons, and ceremonies, had been so near when I first began this writing, which was about the year 1630, and so pieced at leisure times afterwards, or that I should have lived to have seen or heard of the same. But it is the Lord's doing, and ought to be marvellous in our eyes. "Every plant which mine heavenly father hath not planted,"

* A writer quoted by Prince, says, "they are called Puritans who would have the church thoroughly reformed; that is, purged from all those inventions which have been brought into it since the age of the Apostles, and reduced entirely to the Scripture purity." See Prince, p. 282-307.

saith our Saviour, "shall be rooted up." Matt. xv. 13. "I have snared thee, and thou art taken, O Babel, (bishops,) and thou wast not aware: thou art found and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord." Jer. l. 24. But will they needs strive against the truth, against the servants of the Lord, what! and against the Lord himself? Do they provoke the Lord to anger? Are they stronger than he? 1 Cor. x. 22. No, no, they have met with their match. Behold, I come against thee, O proud men, saith the Lord God of hosts; for thy day is coming, even the time that I will visit thee. Jer. l. 31. May not the people of God now say, and these poor people among the rest, The Lord hath brought forth our righteousness; come, let us declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God. Jer. li. 10. Let all flesh be still before the Lord, for he is raised up out of his holy place.* Zech. ii. 13.

This poor people may say among the thousands of Israel, When the Lord brought again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we rejoice. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. They went weeping and carried precious seed; but they shall return with joy, and bring their sheaves. Ps. cxxvi. 1-6.

Do ye not now see the fruits of your labors, O all ye servants of the Lord that have suffered for his truth, and have been faithful witnesses of the same? And ye little handful amongst the rest, the least amongst the thousands of Israel? You have not had a seedtime, but many of you have seen a joyful harvest. Should ye not then rejoice, yea, again, rejoice, and say, Hallelujah! salvation, and glory, and honor, and power, be to the Lord our God; for true and righteous are his judgments. Rev. xix. 1, 2.

But thou wilt ask, What is the matter? What is done?—Why, art thou a stranger in Israel, that thou shouldest not know what is done? Are not those Jebusites overcome, that

* This elevation of spirit was a considerable time after the first penning of these writings, but here entered because of the suitableness of the matter going before it.—*Morton's Note.*

have vexed the people of Israel so long, even holding Jerusalem even until David's days, and been as thorns in their sides so many ages, and now began to scorn that not any David should meddle with them; they began to fortify their tower, as that of the old Babylonians. But these proud Anakims are now thrown down, and their glory laid in the dust. The tyrannous bishops are ejected, their courts dissolved, their canons forceless, their service-books cashiered, their ceremonies useless and despised, their plots for Popery prevented, and all their superstitions discarded, and returned to Rome, from whence they came; and the monuments of idolatry rooted out of the land, and the proud and profane supporters and cruel defenders of these, as bloody papists, wicked atheists, and their malignant consorts, marvellously overthrown. And are not these great things? Who can deny it?

But who hath done it? Even he that sitteth on the white horse, who is called Faithful and True, and judgeth and fighteth righteously, whose garments are dipped in blood, and his name was called The Word of God; for he shall rule them with a rod of iron; for it is he that treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of God Almighty; and he hath upon his garment and upon his thigh a name written, The King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Hallelujah! Rev. xix. 11, 15; Anno Dom. 1646.

See how this holy man's spirit was elevated and his heart raised up in praising of the Lord in consideration of the downfall of the proud prelacy; as he and many more of the saints had good reason, who felt the smart of their bitter and cruel tyranny; who are, indeed, a limb of Antichrist. And if the generality of the saints had been thus sensible of this great and marvellous work of God, possibly that proud hierarchy had not got up so soon again as they have done, soon after this good man's departure out of this world! Nevertheless, we doubt not but that God will bring them down in his good time. For undoubtedly all those that will not that the Lord Jesus should reign over them, but instead thereof exercise an usurped lordly power over the poor saints of God,

shall be brought and slain before him, and (without repentance) shall, together with the beast and false prophet, be thrown into the lake burning with fire and brimstone. Rev. xix. 20. When Babylon cometh into remembrance before God, then shall the saints with the angel say, Thou art just and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they, namely, the whore of Rome (and the prelates their adherents), have shed the blood of thy saints. Give them blood to drink; for they are worthy. Rev. xvi. 5, 6.

The exordium being concluded, I shall come more nearer my intended purpose, namely, in reference unto the church of Christ at Plymouth in New England, first begun in Old England, and carried on in Holland and at Plymouth aforesaid.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE PILGRIM MOVEMENT.

WHEN, by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the north parts, many became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered by the word of God's grace, and began, by his grace, to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways, the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so vexed with apparators and pursuivants and the Commission Courts, as truly their affliction was not small. Which, notwithstanding, they bare sundry years with much patience, until they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days, to see further into these things by the light of the word of God; how that not only those base beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to, which those contrary to the freedom of the gospel would load and burden men's consciences with, and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God; and that their offices and callings, courts and canons, etc., were unlawful and antichristian, being such as have no

warrant in the word of God, but the same that were used in Popery, and still retained; of which a famous author thus writeth in his Dutch commentaries:—

“At the coming of King James out of Scotland into England, the new king,” saith he, “found there established the reformed religion, according to the reformed religion of King Edward the Sixth, retaining or keeping still the spiritual state of the bishops, etc., after the old manner, much varying and differing from the Reformed Churches of Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, Emden, Geneva, etc., whose reformation is cut or shapen much nearer the first churches, as it was used in the Apostles’ times.”*

So many, therefore, of these professors as saw the evil of these things in these parts, and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth, they shook off this yoke of antichristian bondage, and, as the Lord’s free people, joined themselves, (by a covenant of the Lord,) into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them.† And that it cost them much pains, trouble, sorrow, affliction, and persecution, and expense of their estates, etc., this ensuing history will declare.

These people became two distinct bodies or churches, in regard of distance of place, and did congregate severally, for they were of several towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lancashire,‡ and some of Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together. In the one of these churches, besides others of note, was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts, and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errors in the low

* The Reformed Churches shapen much nearer the primitive pattern than England; for they cashiered the bishops, with their court canons and ceremonies at the first, and left them amongst the Popish trash to which they appertain. — *Morton’s Note.*

† See pages 9 and 10.

‡ Prince has it Lincolnshire, which is probably correct.

countries, there for the most part buried themselves and their names.*

But in this other church, which must be the subject of our discourse, besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his pains and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of the conversion of many; and also that famous and worthy man, Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, until the Lord took him away by death; and also Mr. William Brewster, a reverend man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church, and lived with them until old age and death.

But, after these things, they could not long continue in any peaceable manner, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as molehills to mountains in comparison to these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prisons, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these, and many other sharper things which afterward be-

* Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A., a distinguished antiquarian, says, in regard to the precise locality, that after a diligent scrutiny, he finds no place that answers this definition exactly except Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, and the principal mansion of that village, the house which had been for centuries a palace of the Archbishop of York, but which was in those days held under one of the many leases of Episcopal lands, granted by Archbishop Sandys. No spot could better answer to Bradford's description than this. And that no hesitation may remain on this point, we find a Brewster assessed to a subsidy, granted to Queen Elizabeth on the township of Scrooby-cum-Rauskill, and that in 1608, when a fine was imposed upon William Brewster, by the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, he is described as being of Scrooby. A collateral evidence is, that the village of Austerfield, the birthplace and residence of William Bradford, is within two or three miles of Scrooby; and Bradford we know became a convert from listening to the preaching of Clyfton, who was the leading pastor of this little congregation. The soul of this small, but ever famous confederacy, says a late writer, was WILLIAM BREWSTER. We may add, that his excellent spirit and influence were alike exhibited in WILLIAM BRADFORD.

fel them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and spirit. Yet seeing themselves thus molested and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the low countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men, as also how sundry from London and other parts of the land, that had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, and in other places of the land.

So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland, as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608; of which more in that which followeth.

CHAPTER II.

OF THEIR DEPARTURE INTO HOLLAND, AND THEIR TROUBLES
THEREABOUT, WITH SOME OF THE MANY DIFFICULTIES THEY
FOUND AND MET WITHAL.

BEING thus constrained to leave their native country, their lands and livings, and all their friends and familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvellous by many. But to go into a country they knew not, but by hearsay, where they must learn a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misery worse than death; especially seeing they were not acquainted with trades nor traffic, (by which the country doth subsist,) but had only been used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry. But these things did not dismay them, (although they did sometimes trouble them,) for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy his ordinances. But they rested on his providence, and knew whom they had believed. Yet this was not all. For although they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to go; but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance, and to fee the mariners, and give extraordinary rates for their passages. And yet were they oftentimes betrayed, many of them, and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charge; of which I will give an instance or two, and omit the rest.

There was a great company of them purposed to get passage at Boston, in Lincolnshire; and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in at a convenient place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting and large expenses, though he kept not the day with them, yet he came at length, and took them in, in the night. And when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having beforehand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do; who took them and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea, even the women, further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonderment to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus by the catchpole officers rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the Lords of the Council of them; and so they were committed to ward. Indeed, the magistrates used them courteously, and showed them what favor they could; but could not deliver them until order came from the Council table. But the issue was, that after a month's imprisonment the greatest part were dismissed, and sent to the places from whence they came; but some of the principal [men] were still kept in prison, and bound over to the assizes.

The next spring after, there was another attempt made, by some of these and others, to get over at another place; and it so fell out that they lighted of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand. They made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former, of their own nation. He bade them not fear; for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, where was a large common, a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to

the place in a small bark, which they had hired for that end, and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out that they were there a day before the ship came; and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came; but they were fast, and could not stir until about noon. In the mean time, the shipmaster, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard, whom he saw walking about the shore. But after the first boat-full was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons; for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his country's oath ("sacrament") and having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away.

But the poor men which were got on board were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps, and themselves also not having a cloth to shift them with, more than they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being on board the bark. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been on shore again. But all in vain; there was no remedy; they must thus sadly part; and afterwards endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port; in seven whereof they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven to the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life, and once with shrieks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared for their recovery; for the ship rose again, and gave the mariners courage again to manage her; and if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in this great distress, especially some of them, even without any great distraction. When the water ran into their very ears and mouths, and the mariners

cried out, "We sink, we sink," they cried, if not with miraculous, yet with a great height of divine faith, "Yet, Lord, thou canst save; yet, Lord, thou canst save;" with such other expressions as I will forbear. Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as every one cannot understand, and in the end brought them to their desired haven; where the people came flocking, admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends had related unto him in their congratulations.

But to return to the others where we left. The rest of the men that were in the greatest danger made shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them, those only staying that best might, to be assistant to the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side; some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, as it was before related; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, until, in the end, they knew not what to do with them. For to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause, many of them, but that they would go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable, and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged (as the truth was) they had no homes to go to, for they had sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, for all were wearied and tired with them; though, in the mean time, the poor souls endured misery enough; and thus in the end necessity forced a way for them.

But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omit the rest, although I might relate other notable passages and

troubles which they endured and underwent in these their wanderings and travels, both at land and sea. But I haste to other things. Yet I may not omit the fruit that came hereby. For by these so public troubles in so many eminent places their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and Christian behavior was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at those first conflicts and sharp beginnings, (as it was no marvel,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, and greatly animated others; and in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and met together again, according to their desires, with no small rejoicing.

CHAPTER III.

OF THEIR SETTLING IN HOLLAND, AND THEIR MANNER OF LIVING AND ENTERTAINMENT THERE.

BEING now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled, and guarded with troops of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages, wherein they were bred and born and had so long lived, as it seemed they were come into a new world. But those were not the things they much looked on, or long took up their thoughts; for they had other work in hand, and another kind of war to wage and maintain. For though they saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grim and grizzled face of poverty coming on them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly. But they were armed with faith and patience against him and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foiled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got the victory.

Now when Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brewster, and other principal members were come over, (for they were of the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them,) such things were thought on as were necessary for their settling and best ordering of the church affairs. And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr. Robinson, their pastor, and

some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr. John Smith and his company was already fallen into contention with the church that was there before them, and no means they could use would do any good to cure the same; and also that the flames of contention were like to break out in that ancient church itself, (as afterwards lamentably came to pass;) which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove before they were any way engaged with the same; though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estate, both at present and, in likelihood, in the future; as indeed it proved to be.

For these and some other reasons they removed to Leyden, a fair and beautiful city, and of a sweet situation, but made more famous by the university wherewith it is adorned, in which of late it had been by so many learned men;* but wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, and with hard and continual labor. Being thus settled, after many difficulties, they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together, in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church; so as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God; and lived together in peace, and love, and holiness. And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congrega-

* The university of Leyden was established in 1575. It has been at times one of the most celebrated in Europe; and from its reputation the city itself was called the Athens of the West, and the North Star of Holland. Arminius, Episcopius, Grotius, Lipsius, Junius, Vossius, Descartes, Scaliger, Salmasius, and Booyerhave, were among its distinguished professors and scholars.

tion. And if at any time any differences did arise or offences broke out, (as it cannot be but that sometimes there will, even amongst the best of men,) they were ever so met with and nipped in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued, or else the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve; which seldom comes to pass.

Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said of that famous emperor, Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. His love was great towards them, and his care was always bent for their best good, both for soul and body. For, besides his singular abilities in divine things, wherein he excelled, he was able also to give direction in civil affairs,* and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was every way as a common father unto them. And none did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to themselves, and retired from the common good; as also such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of outward order, and inveigh against the evil of others, and yet be remiss in themselves, and not so careful to express a virtuous conversation. They, in like manner, had ever a reverent regard unto him, and had him in precious estimation, as his worth and wisdom did deserve; and although they esteemed him highly whilst he lived and labored amongst them, yet much more after his death, when they came to feel the want of his help, and saw, by woful experience, what a treasure they had lost, to the grief of their

* It has been common both in Old and New England for the clergy to take an interest in public affairs. The efficient agency which the Congregational ministers exerted in our early settlements in giving shape and character to both our literary and civil institutions is well known. Their patriotic exertions will never be forgotten.

hearts and wounding of their souls; yea, such a loss as they saw could not be repaired; for it was hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all respects, as the Tabo-rites to find another Ziska.* And although they did not call themselves orphans, as the other did, after his death, yet they had cause as much to lament, in another regard, their present condition and after usage.

But to return. I know not but it may be spoken to the honor of God, and without prejudice to any, that such was the humble zeal and fervent love of this people (whilst they thus lived together) towards God and his ways, and the single-heartedness and sincere affection one towards another, that they came as near the primitive pattern of the first churches as any other church of these latter times have done, according to their rank and quality. But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of the several passages that befell this people whilst they thus lived in the Low Countries, (which might worthily require a large treatise of itself,) but to manifest something of their beginning and after progress in New England, which I principally scope and aim at; yet, because some of their adversaries did, upon the rumor of their removal, cast out slanders against them, as if that State had been weary of them, and had rather driven them out, (as the heathen histories did feign of Moses and the Israelites when they went out of Egypt,) than it was their own free choice and motion, I will therefore mention a particular or two to show the contrary, and that good acceptation they had in the place.

And first, although it was low with many of them, yet their word would be taken amongst the Dutch when they wanted money, because they had found by experience how careful they were to keep their words,† and saw them so painful and diligent in their callings, that they strove to get their custom,

* See Gieseler's *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 359, and *Encyc. Amer.* articles *Ziska* and *Huss*.

† A great honor to the Gospel. — *Morton's Note*.

and to employ them above others in their work, for their honesty and diligence.

Again; the magistrates of the city, about the time of their coming away, or a little before, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in reproof of the Walloons, who were of the French church in the city. "These English," said they, "have lived amongst us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual," etc.

In these times, also, were the great troubles raised by the Arminians; who, as they greatly molested the whole State, so this city in particular, in which was the chief university; so as there were daily and hot disputes in the schools thereabouts. And as the students and other learned were divided in their opinions herein, so were the two professors or divinity readers themselves, the one daily teaching for it, and the other against it; which grew to that pass, that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other teach. But Mr. Robinson, although he taught thrice a week himself, and wrote sundry books,* besides, his manifold pains otherwise, yet he went constantly to hear their readings, and heard as well one as the other. By which means he was so well grounded in the controversy, and saw the force of all their arguments, and knew the shifts of the adversary; and being himself very able, none was fitter to buckle with them than himself, as appeared by sundry disputes; so as he began to be terrible to the Arminians; which made Episcopius, the Arminian professor, to put forth his best strength, and set out sundry theses, which by public dispute he would defend against all men. Now Polyander, the other professor, and the chief preachers of the city, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him. But he was loth, being a stranger. Yet the other did importune him, and told him that such was the ability and nimbleness of wit of the adversary, that the truth would suf-

* See Robinson's Works.

fer if he did not help them; so as he condescended, and prepared himself against the time. And when the time came, the Lord did so help him to defend the truth and foil his adversary, as he put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. And the like he did two or three times upon such like occasions; the which, as it caused many to praise God that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procured him much honor and respect from those learned men and others which loved the truth.

Yea, so far were they from being weary of him and his people, or desiring their absence, as that it was said by some, of no mean note, that were it not for giving offence to the State of England, they would have preferred him otherwise, if he would, and allowed them some public favor. Yea, when there was speech of their removal into these parts, sundry of note and eminency of that nation would have had them come under them; and for that end made them large offers.

Now although I might allege many particulars and examples of the like kind to show the untruth and unlikelihood of this slander, yet these shall suffice, seeing it was believed of few, being only raised by the malice of some who labored their disgrace.

CHAPTER IV.

SHOWING THE REASONS AND CAUSES OF THEIR REMOVAL.

AFTER they had lived in this city about eleven or twelve years, (which is the more observable, being the whole time of that famous truce between that State and the Spaniards,) and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave mistress experience having taught them many things, these prudent governors, with sundry of the sagest members, began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers and wisely to foresee the future, and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts and much discourse of particulars hereabout, they began to incline to this conclusion of removal to some other place; not out of any newfangledness, or other such like giddy humor, by which men are many times transported, to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry weighty and solid reasons, the chief of which I will here recite and briefly touch.

1. And first, they found and saw by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure the great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences, which they underwent and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, and approved their cause, and honored their sufferings, yet they left them as it were weeping, as Orpah did

her mother-in-law Naomi, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with though they could not all be Catos. For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the Gospel with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements; yea, their pastor would often say that many of those that both writ and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty, and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.

2. They saw that although the people generally bore all their difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage, being in the best of their strength, yet old age began to come on some of them; and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time; so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they were in danger to scatter by necessity pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both; and therefore, according to the divine proverb, that "a wise man seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth himself," Prov. xxii. 3, so they, like skilful and beaten soldiers, were fearful either to be entrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor fly; and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any could be found.

3. As necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such not only to their servants, but in a sort to their dearest children; the which, as it did a little wound the tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced also many sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that although their

minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth ; the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud, as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in the country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples unto extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took them upon far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God ; so that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

4. Lastly, (and which was not the least,) a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world ; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing of so great a work.

These, and some other like reasons,* moved them to undertake this resolution of their removal, the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties ; as by the sequel will appear.

The place they had thoughts on were some of those unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only salvage and brutish people, which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts. This proposition being made public, and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears

* Edward Winslow, in his Brief Narrative, gives three other reasons ; first, their desire to live under the protection of England and to retain the language and the name of Englishmen ; second, their inability to give their children such an education as they had themselves received ; and third, their grief at the profanation of the sabbath in Holland.

and doubts amongst themselves. Some, from their reasons and hopes conceived, labored to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again, out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to divert from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable; as that it was a great design, and subject to many inconceivable perils and dangers; as, besides the casualties of the seas, (which none can be freed from,) the length of the voyage was such as the weak bodies of men and women and such other persons, worn out with age and travail, (as many of them were,) could never be able to endure; and yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto would be too hard to be borne, and likely, some or all of them, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things. The changing of the air, diet, and drinking of water would infect their bodies with sore sicknesses; and all those which should escape or overcome these difficulties should yet be in continual danger of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous, and treacherous, being most furious in their rage and merciless where they overcome, not being content only to kill and take away life, but delight to torment men in most bloody manner that may be, flaying men alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the joints and members of others by piecemeals, and broiling them on the coals, and causing men to eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but the hearing of these things could not but move the bowels of men to grate within them, and make the weak to quake and tremble. It was further objected, that it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage and to fit them with necessaries, than their estates would amount to. And yet they must as well look to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also, the like precedents of ill success and lamentable miseries befallen others in the like designs, were easy to be found and not forgotten to be alleged; besides their

own experience in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into Holland, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, although it was a neighbor country, and a civil and rich commonwealth.

It was answered, that all great and honorable actions were accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate, and the difficulties were many, but not invincible; for although there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain. It might be that some of the things feared might never befall them; others, by providence, care, and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome. True it was that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken but upon good ground and reason, not rashly or lightly, as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary. Their ends were good and honorable, their calling lawful and urgent, and therefore they might expect a blessing of God in their proceeding; yea, although they should lose their lives in this action, yet they might have comfort in the same; and their endeavors would be honorable. They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place; for the twelve years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and liberty less to look out for remedy.

After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

CHAPTER V.

SHOWING WHAT MEANS THEY USED FOR PREPARATION TO THIS
WEIGHTY VOYAGE.

AND first, after their humble prayers unto God for his direction and assistance, and a general conference held thereabouts, they consulted what particular place to pitch upon and prepare for. Some, and none of the meanest, had thoughts and were earnest for Guiana, or some of those fertile places in those hot climates. Others were for some parts of Virginia,* where the English had already made entrance and beginning.

Those for Guiana alleged that the country was rich, fruitful, and blessed with a perpetual spring and a flourishing greenness; where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance and plenty, without any great labor or art of man; so as it must needs make the inhabitants rich, seeing less provision of clothing and other things would secure them than in more colder and less fruitful countries must be had. As also that the Spaniards, having much more than they could possess, had not yet planted there, nor anywhere very near the same.

But to this it was answered, that out of question the country was both fruitful and pleasant, and might yield riches and maintenance to the possessors more easily than to others;

* The successful colonization of Virginia commenced in 1607, at Jamestown.— See Bancroft, i. 125; Grahame's History of the United States, i. 39.

yet, other things considered, it would not be so fit. And first, that such hot countries are subject to grievous diseases, and many noisome impediments, which other more temperate places are free from, and would not so well agree with our English bodies. Again, if they should there live and do well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long, but would displant and overthrow them, as he did the French in Florida,* who were settled further from his richest countries; and the sooner, because they should have none to protect them, and their own strength would be too small to resist so potent an enemy and so near a neighbor.

On the other hand, for Virginia it was objected, that if they lived amongst the English which were there planted, or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for their cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse; and if they lived too far off, they should neither have succor or defence from them.

And at length the conclusion was, to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia; and by their friends to sue to His Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them free liberty, and freedom of religion. And that this may be obtained they were put in good hope by some great persons of good rank and quality that were made their friends.

Whereupon two were chosen and sent into England, at the charge of the rest, to solicit this matter; who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them go thither, and willing to grant them a patent, with as ample privileges as they had or could grant to any, and to give them the best furtherance they could; and some of the chief of the Company doubted not to obtain their suit of the king for liberty in religion, and to have it confirmed under the king's broad seal, according to their desires. But it proved a harder piece of work than they took it for. For although many means were used to bring it about, yet it could not be effected; for

* See Bancroft, Hist. U. S. i. 67-70.

there were divers of good worth labored with the king to obtain it, amongst whom was one of his chief secretaries; and some other wrought with the archbishop to give way thereunto. But it proved all in vain. Yet thus far they prevailed in sounding His Majesty's mind, that he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably. But to allow or tolerate them by his public authority under his seal, they found it would not be granted. And this was all that the chief of the Virginia Company, or any other of their best friends, could do in the case. Yet they persuaded them to go on, for they presumed they should not be troubled. And with this answer the messengers returned, and signified what diligence had been used, and to what issue things were come.

But this made a damp in the business, and caused some distraction. For many were afraid that if they should unsettle themselves, put off their estates, and go upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and but a sandy foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hereupon, without making any suit at all, than, having made it, to be thus rejected. But some of the chiefest thought otherwise, and that they might well proceed hereupon, and that the King's Majesty was willing enough to suffer them without molestation, though for other reasons he would not confirm it by any public act; and furthermore, if there was no security in this promise intimated, there would be no greater certainty in a further confirmation of the same. For if afterward there should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seal as broad as the house floor, it would not serve the turn, for there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it. And seeing, therefore, the course is probable, they must rest herein on God's providence, as they had done in other things.

Upon this resolution other messengers were despatched to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could, and to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means attain; as also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had mani-

fested their forwardness to provoke to and adventure in this voyage. For which end they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should proceed with them; or else to conclude nothing without further advice. And here it will be requisite to insert a letter or two that may give light to these proceedings.

A copy of a Letter from Sir Edwin Sands [Sandys] directed to Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster.

After my hearty salutations,—The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of His Majesty's Council for Virginia; and by the writing of seven articles, subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good; divers particulars whereof we leave to their faithful report, having carried themselves here with that good discretion as is both to their own and their credit from whom they came. And whereas, being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action about the several particulars which in the prosecution thereof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented unto; and so they do now return unto you. If therefore it may please God so to direct your desires as that on your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear that on our parts all forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the best sort which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this design, (which I hope verily is the work of God,) to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.

Your very loving friends,

EDWIN SANDYS.*

London, November 12, 1617.

* Sir Edwin Sandys was one of the principal members of the Virginia Company. He was the son of Archbishop Sandys, and a favorite pupil of

Their answer was as followeth.

Right Worshipful,

Our humble duties remembered in our own, our messengers', and our church's name, with all thankful acknowledgment of your singular love, expressing itself, as otherwise, so more especially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in this weighty business about Virginia, which the less able we are to requite, we shall think ourselves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto God for recompense; whom as for the present you rightly behold in our endeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts, (the same God assisting us,) to return all answerable fruit and respect unto the labor of your love bestowed upon us. We have, with the best speed and consideration withal that we could, set down our requests in writing, subscribed, as you willed, with the hands of the greatest part of our congregation, and have sent the same unto the Council by our agent, a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself; to the care and discretion of which two we do refer the prosecuting of the business. Now we persuade ourselves, right worshipful, that we need not to provoke your godly and loving mind to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so far to interest us in yourself, that, under God, above all persons and things in the world we rely upon you, expecting the care of your love, the counsel of your wisdom, and the help and countenance of

the judicious Hooker. In Parliament, he was "a member of great authority," according to Hume, and taking the popular side was in 1614 committed by James to the Tower for his free speech. Anthony Wood says he was "a person of great judgment and of a commanding pen, a solid statesman, *ingenio et gravitate morum insignis*." He was the author of "*Europæ Speculum* ; or a View or Survey of the state of Religion in the western part of the World," and of a metrical version of the Book of Job, the Psalms of David, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ. He died in 1629. See Hume's *England*, vi. 39, 97, (Pickering's ed.); Hallam's *England*, i. 391-393.

your authority. Notwithstanding, for your encouragement in the work so far as probabilities may lead, we will not forbear to mention these instances of inducement.

1. We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us, unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that he will graciously prosper our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hearts therein.

2. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet, in great part, we have by patience overcome.

3. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

4. We are knit together as a body in a more strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make [great] conscience; and by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by every, and so mutual.

5. And lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. We know our entertainment in England and Holland. We shall much prejudice both our arts and means by removal; where, if we should be driven to return, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed look ever to attain the like in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their periods.

These motives we have been bold to tender unto you, which you in your wisdom may also impart to any other our worshipful friends of the Council with you, of all whose godly dispositions and loving towards our despised persons we are most glad, and shall not fail by all good means to continue and increase the same. We shall not be further troublesome, but do, with renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your worship, and (so far as in modesty we may be bold) to any other of our well-willers of the Council with you, we take

our leaves, committing your persons and counsels to the guidance and protection of the Almighty.

Yours, much bounden in all duty,

JOHN ROBINSON,

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Leyden, the 15th of December, 1617.

I found annexed unto the foregoing letters these following lines, written by Mr. Bradford with special reference unto the fourth particular on the other side written.

O sacred bond! Whilst inviolably preserved, how sweet and precious were the fruits that flowed from the same. But when this fidelity decayed, then their ruin approached. Oh that these ancient members had not died or been dissipated, (if it had been the will of God,) or else that this holy care and constant faithfulness had still lived and remained with those that survived, that were in times afterwards added unto them. But, alas! that subtile serpent hath slyly wound in himself, under fair pretences of necessity and the like, to untwist these sacred bonds and ties, and as it were insensibly, by degrees, to dissolve or in a great measure to weaken the same. I have been happy, in my first times, to see and with much comfort to enjoy the blessed fruits of this sweet communion. But it is now a part of my misery in old age to find and feel the decay and want thereof, in a great measure, and with grief and sorrow of heart to lament and bewail the same; and for others' warning and admonition, and my own humiliation, do I here note the same.

Thus much by way of digression. For further light in these proceedings forenamed, see some other letters and notes, as followeth.

The copy of a letter sent to Sir John Worsingham [Wolstenholme].

Right Worshipful,

With due acknowledgment of our thankfulness for your singular care and pains in the business of Virginia, for our and (we hope) the common good, we do remember our hum-

ble duties unto you, and have sent, as is desired, a further explanation of our judgments in the three points specified by some of His Majesty's honorable Privy Council. And although it be grievous unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most glad of the occasion of making our just purgation unto the so honorable personages. The declarations we have sent inclosed; the one more brief and general, which we think the fitter to be presented; the other something more large, and in which we express some small accidental differences, which, if it seem good unto you and other of your worship's friends, you may send instead of the former. Our prayer unto God is, that your worship may see the fruit of your worthy endeavors, which on our part we shall not fail to further by all good means. And so praying that you would, with all conveniency that may be, give us knowledge of the success of the business with His Majesty's Privy Council, and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in the same, so we rest

Your worship's, in all duty,

JOHN ROBINSON,

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Leyden, January 27, 1617, old style.

The first brief note was this.

Touching the ecclesiastical ministry, namely, of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the church's contribution, as also for the two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper, we do wholly and in all points agree with the French Reformed Churches, according to their public confession of faith; though some small differences.

The oath of Supremacy we shall willingly take, if it be required of us, if that convenient satisfaction be not given by our taking the oath of Allegiance.

JOHN ROBINSON,

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

The second was this.

Touching the ecclesiastical ministry, (as in the former, etc.) we agree, in all things, with the French Reformed Churches, according to their public Confession of Faith; though some small differences be to be found in our practices, not at all in the substance of the things, but only in some accidental circumstances; as

1. Their ministers do pray with their heads covered; we uncovered.

2. We choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach; which ability they do not require.

3. Their elders and deacons are annual, or at the most for two or three years; ours perpetual.

4. Our elders do administer their office in admonitions and excommunications, for public scandals, publicly and before the congregation; theirs more privately and in their consistories.

5. We do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent, at the least, is of some church, which some of their churches do not observe; although in it our practice accords with their public Confession and the judgment of the most learned amongst them.

Other differences, worthy mentioning, we know none.

(Subscribed,)

JOHN ROBINSON,
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Part of another letter from him that delivered these.

*London, Feb. 14, 1617.**

Your letter to Sir John Wolstenholme I delivered, almost as soon as I had it, to his own hands, and stayed with him the opening and reading thereof. There were two papers inclosed. He read them to himself, as also the letter; and in the reading he spake to me and said, "Who shall make them?" viz. the ministers. I answered his worship that the

* 1618, new style.

power of making was in the Church,* to be ordained by the imposition of hands by the fittest instruments they have. It must either be in the Church, or from the Pope; and the Pope is Antichrist. "Ho!" said Sir John, "what the Pope holds good, (as in the Trinity,) that we do well to assent to. But," said he, "we will not enter into dispute now;" and as for your letters, he would not show them at any hand, lest he should spoil all. He expected you should have been of the Archbishop's mind for the calling of ministers; but it seems you differed. I could have wished to have known the contents of your two inclosed, at which he stuck so much, especially the larger. I asked his worship, what good news he had for me to write to-morrow. He told me, "[Very] good news; for both the King's Majesty and the bishops have consented." He said he would go to Mr. Chancellor, Sir Fulke Greville, as this day, and next week I should know more. I met with Sir Edwin Sandys on Wednesday night. He wished me to be at the Virginia Court the next Wednesday, where I purpose to be. Thus loth to be troublesome at present, I hope to have something next week of certainty concerning you. I commit you to the Lord.

Yours,

S. B.

These things being long in agitation, and messengers passing to and again about them, after all their hopes they were long delayed by many obstacles that fell in the way. For at the return of these messengers into England, they found things far otherwise than they expected. For the Virginia Council was now so disturbed with factions and quarrels amongst themselves, as no business could well go forward; the which may the better appear in one of the messengers' letters, as followeth.

To his loving friends.

I had thought long since to have writ unto you; but could not effect that which I aimed at, neither can yet set things

* See Morton's Memorial, pp. 97-100.

as I wished. Yet, notwithstanding, I doubt not but Mr. Brewster hath written to Mr. Robinson; but I think myself bound also to do something, lest I be thought to neglect you.

The main hinderance of our proceedings in the Virginia business is the dissensions and factions, as they term it, amongst the Council and Company of Virginia, which are such as that ever since we came up no business could by them be despatched. The occasion of this trouble amongst them is, that a while since Sir Thomas Smith, repining at his many offices and troubles, wished the Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being treasurer and governor of the Virginia Company. Whereupon the Company took occasion to dismiss him, and chose Sir Edwin Sandys treasurer and governor of the Company, he having sixty voices, Sir John Wolstenholme sixteen voices, and alderman Johnson twenty-four. But Sir Thomas Smith, when he saw some part of his honor lost, was very angry, and raised a faction to cavil and contend about the election, and sought to tax Sir Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him and also put him by his office of governor. In which contentions they yet stick, and are not fit nor ready to intermeddle in any business; and what issue things will come to, I know not, nor are we yet certain. It is most like Sir Edwin will carry it away; and if he do, things will go well in Virginia; if otherwise, they will go ill enough always. We hope in two or three Court days things will settle. Mean space I think to go down into Kent, and come up again about fourteen days or three weeks hence; except either by these aforesaid contentions, or by the ill tidings from Virginia, we be wholly discouraged; of which tidings as followeth.

Capt. Argall is come home this week. He, upon notice of the intent of the Council, came away before Sir George Yardly [Yeardly] came there, and so there is no small dissension. But his tidings is ill, although his person be welcome. He saith Mr. Blackwell's ship came not there until March; but going towards winter they had still north-west winds,

which carried them to the southward beyond their course; and the master of the ship and some six of the mariners dying, it seemed they could not find the Bay, till after long seeking and beating about. Mr. Blackwell is dead, and Mr. Maggner, the captain. Yea, there are dead, he saith, a hundred and thirty persons, one and other, in the ship. It is said there was in all a hundred and eighty persons in the ship, so as they were packed together like herrings. They had amongst them a flux, and also want of fresh water; so as it is here rather wondered that so many are alive, than that so many are dead. The merchants here say it was Mr. Blackwell's fault to pack so many in the ship; yea, and there was great murmuring and repining amongst them, and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell for his dealing and disposing of them, when they saw how he had disposed of them, and how he insulted over them. Yea, the streets at Gravesend rang of their extreme quarrelling, crying out one of another, "Thou hast brought me to this. I may thank thee for this." Heavy news it is, and I would be glad to hear how far it will discourage. I see none here discouraged much, but rather desire to learn to beware by other men's harms, and to amend that wherein they have failed; as we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being enthralled by other imperious persons, especially if they be discerned to have an eye to themselves. It doth often trouble me to think that in this business we are to learn, and none to teach. But better so than to depend upon such teachers as Mr. Blackwell was. Such a stratagem he made for Mr. Johnson and his people at Emden; much was their subversion. But though he then cleanly yet dishonestly plucked his neck out of the collar, yet at last his foot is caught.

Here are no letters come. The ship Captain Argall came in is yet in the west parts. All that we hear is but his report. It seemeth he came away secretly. The ship that Mr. Blackwell went in will be here shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said; he thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. Brewster is not well at this time. Whether he will go

back to you or go into the north, I yet know not. For myself, I hope to see an end of this business ere I come, though I am sorry to be thus from you. If things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within this fourteen days. I pray God direct us, and give us that spirit which is fitting for such a business.

Thus having summarily pointed at things which Mr. Brewster, I think, hath more largely writ of to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lord's protection.

Yours, in all readiness, etc.

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

London, May the 8th, 1619.

A word or two, by way of digression, touching this Mr. Blackwell. He was an elder of the church of Amsterdam, a man well known of most of them. He declined from the truth with Mr. Johnson and the rest, and went with him when they departed asunder in that woful manner which brought so great dishonor to God, scandal to the truth, and outward ruin to themselves, in this world. But I hope, notwithstanding, through the mercies of the Lord, their souls are now at rest with God, in the heavens, and that they are arrived in the haven of happiness, though some of their bodies were thus buried in the terrible seas, and others sunk under the burden of bitter afflictions. He, with some others, had prepared for to go to Virginia; and he with sundry godly citizens being at a private meeting (I take it, at a Fast) in London, being discovered, many of them were apprehended, whereof Mr. Blackwell was one. But he so glossed with the bishops, and either dissembled or flatly denied the truth which formerly he had maintained; and not only so, but unworthily betrayed and accused another godly man who had escaped, that so he might slip his own neck out of the collar, and to obtain his own freedom brought others into bonds. Whereupon he so won the bishops' favor, (but lost the Lord's,) as he was not only dismissed, but in open court the Archbishop gave him great applause and his solemn blessing to proceed in his

voyage. But if such events follow the bishops' blessing, happy are they that miss the same. It is much better to keep a good conscience and have the Lord's blessing, whether in life or death. But see how that man, apprehended by Mr. Blackwell's means, writes to a friend of his.

Right dear friend and Christian brother, Mr. Carver, I salute you and yours in the Lord.

Sir, as for my own present condition, I doubt not but you well understand it by our brother Masterson, who should have tasted of the same cup, had his place of residence and his person been as well known as myself. Somewhat I have written to Mr. Cushman how the matter still continues. I have petitioned twice to Mr. Sheriff, and once to my Lord Cook, and have used such reasons to move them to pity, that if they were not overruled by some others, I suppose I should have soon gained my liberty;—as that I was a man living by my credit, in debt to divers in our city, living in more than ordinary charges in a close and tedious prison; besides great rents abroad, all my business lying still, my own servant lying lame in the country, my wife being also great with child; and yet no answer until the Lords of His Majesty's Council gave consent. Howbeit, Mr. Blackwell, a man as deep in this action as I, was delivered at a cheaper rate with a great deal less ado, yea, with an addition of the Archbishop's blessing. I am sorry for Mr. Blackwell's weakness. I wish it may prove no worse; but yet he and some others of them were not sorry, but thought it was for the best that I was nominated; not because the Lord sanctifies evil to good, but that the action was good, yea, for the best. One reason I well remember he used was, because this trouble would increase the Virginia plantation; that now people began more generally to incline to go; and if he had not nominated some such as I, he had not been free, being it was known that many citizens, besides themselves, were there. I expect an answer shortly what they intend concerning me. I purpose to write to some other of you, by whom you shall know the certainty

Thus not having further at present to acquaint you withal, commending myself to your prayers I cease, and commit you and us all to the Lord.

Your friend and brother, in bonds,

SABIN STARSMORE.

From my Chamber in Wood-street Counter, Sept. 4th, 1618.

But thus much by the way, which may be of good use.*

But at last, after all these things, and their long attendance, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed under the Company's seal. But these divisions and distractions had shaken off many of their pretended friends, and disappointed them of many of their hoped for and proffered means. By the advice of some friends this patent was not taken in the name of any of their own company, but in the name of Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman, then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them. But God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patent, which had cost them so much labor and charge; as by the sequel will appear.

This patent being sent over for them to view and consider, as also the passages about the propositions between them and such merchants and friends as should either go or adventure with them, and especially with them on whom they did chiefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fit and prepare themselves with all speed.

A right emblem it may be of the uncertain things of this world, that when men have toiled themselves, they vanish into smoke.

Upon a receipt of these things by one of their messengers, they had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation, to seek

* I have been the larger in these things, that the rising generation may seriously take notice of the many difficulties their poor leaders underwent in the first enterprises towards coming into New England.

the Lord for his direction. And their pastor took this text. "And David's men said unto him, See, we be afraid here in Judah. How much more, if we come to Keilah, against the hosts of the Philistines. Then David asked counsel of the Lord again." 1 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. From which text he taught many things very aptly, and befitting their present occasion and condition, to strengthen them against their fears and perplexities, and encouraging them in their resolutions.

In the foregoing five chapters the reader may take a view of some of the many difficulties our blessed predecessors went through in their first achievement of this weighty enterprise of removal of our church into these American parts. The immediate following relations in Mr. Bradford's book, out of which divers of these matters are recollected, do more especially concern the conditions of their agreement with several merchant adventurers towards the voyage, etc., as also several letters sent to and fro from friend to friend relating to the premises, which are not so pertinent to the nature of this small history. Wherefore I shall here omit to insert them, judging them not so suitable to my present purpose; and here also cease to follow the foregoing method by way of chapters.

As Morton chose here to omit a portion of Bradford's History, relating to transactions with the merchant adventurers, we here quote from Hubbard's History a few paragraphs which seem essential to the completeness of the narrative.

"Soon after this their agents were sent into England again, to conclude of articles and propositions between them and such merchants and friends as should either go or adventure with them, and those who in order to their removal had sold out their estates, put their moneys into a common stock, which was to be disposed of by those appointed to make general provision. Mr. Weston was one who had interested himself much in their affairs, undertaking to provide shipping for their transportation, but about this time they were informed

by Mr. Weston and others, that sundry honorable lords and worthy gentlemen had obtained a large patent from the King for the more northerly part of America, distinct from the Virginia patent, and wholly excluded from their government, and to be called by another name, namely, New England. Unto which Mr. Weston and the chiefest of them began to incline, thinking it was best for them to go thither; as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present profit, to be made by fishing on that coast. But in all business the active part is most difficult, especially when there are many agents that may be concerned. So it was found in them; for some of them who should have gone in England, fell off and would not go. Other merchants and friends, that proffered to adventure their money, withdrew and pretended many excuses; some disliking they went not to Guiana; others would do nothing unless they went to Virginia; and many who were most relied on refused to adventure if they went thither. In the midst of these difficulties, they of Leyden were driven to great straits; but at the length, the generality was swayed to the better opinion. Howbeit, the patent for the northern part of the country not being fully settled at that time, they resolved to adventure with that patent they had, intending for some place more southward than that they fell upon in their voyage, at Cape Cod, as may appear afterwards.

The conditions, on which those of Leyden engaged with the merchants, the adventurers, were hard enough at the first for the poor people, that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates. Yet were their agents forced to change one or two of them, to satisfy the merchants, who were not willing to be concerned with them; although the altering them without their knowledge or consent was very distasteful to them, and became the occasion of some contention amongst them afterwards. They are these that follow.

1. The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be ac-

counted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint-stock and partnership the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock until the division.

4. That at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and the profits, namely, the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the adventurers. If any debt or detriment concerning this adventure.

6. Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years and upward, a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

8. That such children that now go and are under the age of ten years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division proportionably to the time of their life in the colony.

10. That all such persons as are of the colony are to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of the said colony.

The difference between the conditions thus expressed and the former, before their alteration, stood in these two points; first, that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home fields, should remain undivided, wholly to the planters, at the seven years' end; secondly, that the planters should have two days in the week for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and their families, especially such as had them to take care for.

The altering of those two conditions was very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage. But Mr. Cushman, their principal agent, answered the complaints peremptorily, that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground; and necessity, they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent. The poor planters met with much difficulty both before and after the expiring of the seven years, and found much trouble in making up accounts with the adventurers about the division; at which time, though those that adventured their money were no great gainers, yet those that adventured their lives in carrying on the business of the plantation were by much the greatest sufferers.

[Mr. Robinson writes to Mr. Carver, and complains of Mr. Weston's neglect in getting shipping in England; for want of which they are in a piteous case at Leyden. And S. F., E. W., W. B., and J. A., write from Leyden to Mr. Carver and Cushman, that the coming of Mr. Nash and their pilot is a great encouragement to them.

Mr. Cushman, in a letter from London to Mr. Carver at Southampton, says that Mr. Crabe, a minister, had promised to go, but is much opposed, and like to fail; and in a letter to the people at Leyden, that he had hired another pilot, one Mr. Clark, who went last year to Virginia; that he is getting a ship, hopes he shall make all ready at London in fourteen days, and would have Mr. Reynolds tarry in Holland, and bring the ship there to Southampton.] *

* These last two paragraphs are from Prince.

Here follows in Bradford's History the same description of their departure

A brief Letter written by Mr. John Robinson to Mr. John Carver, at their parting aforesaid, in which the tender love and godly care of a true pastor appears.

My Dear Brother, —

I received inclosed your last letter and note of information, which I shall carefully keep and make use of, as there shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexity of mind and toil of body; but I hope that you, having always been able so plentifully to administer comfort unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for yourself, as that far greater difficulties than you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to be great enough) cannot oppress you, though they press you, as the Apostle speaketh. "The spirit of a man (sustained by the Spirit of God) will sustain his infirmity." I doubt not so will yours; and the better much, when you shall enjoy the presence and help of so many godly and wise brethren, for the bearing of part of your burden; who also will not admit into their hearts the least thought of suspicion of any the least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, whatsoever they think in others. Now what shall I say or write unto you and your good wife, my loving sister? Even only this; I desire, and always shall, mercy and blessing unto you from the Lord, as unto my own soul; and assure yourself that my heart is with you, and that I will not fore-slow my bodily coming at the first opportunity. I have written a large letter to the whole,* and am sorry I shall not rather speak than write to them; and the more, considering the want of a preacher, which I shall also make some spur to my hastening towards you. I do ever commend my best affection unto you; which if I thought you made any doubt of, I would express in more, and the same more ample and full words. And the Lord, in whom you trust, and whom

from Leyden, their embarkation from Delft Haven, and their subsequent trials, as is found in the Memorial, which need not be repeated. See pages 13-24.

* See this letter in Memorial, p. 15-19 of this volume.

you serve ever in this business and journey, guide you with his hand, protect you with his wing, and show you and us his salvation in the end, and bring us, in the mean while, together in the place desired (if such be his good will) for his Christ's sake. Amen.

Yours,

JOHN ROBINSON.

July 27th, 1620.

This was the last letter that Mr. Carver lived to see from him.*

* The remainder of Bradford's History as found on the Church Records is in the Memorial. See pages 19-24.

NEW ENGLAND CHRONOLOGY,

BY

THOMAS PRINCE.

MR. PRINCE having read all the contemporary histories of the first thirteen years of the settlement at Plymouth, put the whole in the form of Annals; and we have here extracted so much as seemed desirable to make this volume a full and complete narrative of the events of the time included.

NEW ENGLAND CHRONOLOGY.

1621.

JANUARY 1. Monday, the people at Plymouth go betimes to work, and the year begins with the death of Degory Priest.

January 3. Some abroad see great fires of Indians and go to their cornfields, but discover none of the savages, nor have seen any since we came to this harbor.

January 4. Captain Standish, with four or five more, go to look for the natives where their fires were made, find some of their houses, though not lately inhabited, but none of the natives.

January 8. Francis Billington having the week before from the top of a tree on a high hill discovered a great sea, as he thought, goes this day with one of the master's mates to view it; travel three miles to a large water divided into two lakes; the bigger five or six miles in compass with an islet in it of a cable's length square. The other three miles in compass, and a brook issuing from it, find seven or eight houses, though not lately inhabited; and this day dies Mr. Christopher Martin.

January 9. We labor in building our town in two rows of houses for greater safety; divide by lot the ground we build on; agree that every man shall build his own house, that they may make more haste than when they work in common.

January 12. At noon, John Goodman and Peter Brown gathering thatch abroad, and not coming home after their two companions, put us in great sorrow; master Leaver with three or four more go to seek them, but can hear nothing of

them ; next day, thinking the Indians had surprised them, we arm out ten or twelve men after them, who go searching seven or eight miles, but return without discovery, to our great discomfort.

January 13. Having the major part of our people ashore, we purpose there to keep the public worship to-morrow.

January 14. Lord's Day morning at six o'clock, the wind, being very high, we on shipboard see our rendezvous in flames ; and because of the loss of the two men, fear the savages had fired it, nor can we come to help them for want of the tide till seven o'clock ; at landing, hear good news of the return of our two men, and that the house was fired by a spark flying into the thatch, which instantly burnt it up ; the greatest sufferers are Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford. The two men were lost in the woods on Friday noon ; ranged all the afternoon in the wet and cold ; at night it snowing, freezing, and being bitter weather, they walked under a tree till morning, then travelled by many lakes and brooks ; in the afternoon, from a high hill they discover the two isles in our harbor, and at night get home faint with travel and want of food and sleep, and almost famished with cold.

January 21. We keep our public worship ashore.

January 29. Dies Rose, the wife of Captain Standish.

January 31. This morning the people aboard the ship see two savages, (the first that we see at this harbor,) but cannot speak with them.

N. B. This month eight of our number die.

February 9. This afternoon, our house for our sick people is set a fire by a spark lighting on the roof.

February 16. One of our people a fowling by a creek about a mile and a half off, twelve Indians march by him towards the town ; in the woods he hears the noise of many more, lies close till they are passed by, then hastens home and gives the alarm ; so the people abroad return, but see none ; only Captain Standish and Francis Cook, leaving their tools in the woods, and going for them, find the savages had took them away ; and towards night a great fire about the place where the man saw them.

February 17. This morning we first meet for appointing military orders, choose Miles Standish for our captain, give him power accordingly; and while we are consulting, two savages present themselves on the top of the hill over against us about a quarter of a mile off, making signs for us to come to them, we send Captain Standish and Mr. Hopkins over the brook towards them, one only with a musket, which he lays down in sign of peace and parley, but the Indians would not stay their coming; a noise of a great many more is heard behind the hill, but no more come in sight.

February 21. Die Mr. William White, Mr. William Mullins, with two more. And the 25th dies Mary, the wife of Mr. Isaac Allerton.

N. B. This month, seventeen of our number die.

March 7. The governor with five more go to the Great Ponds; and we begin to sow our garden seeds.

March 16. This morning, a savage boldly comes alone along the houses straight to the rendezvous, surprises us with calling out, *Welcome Englishmen! Welcome Englishmen!* having learned some broken English among the fishermen at Monhiggon; the first Indian we met with, his name Samoset, says he is a sagamore or lord of Moratiggon, lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land, and has been in these parts eight months; we entertain him, and he informs us of the country; that the place we are in is called Patuxet, that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining; as indeed we find none to hinder our possession, or lay claim to it. At night we lodge and watch him.

March 17. This morning we send Samoset to the Massasoits, our next neighbors, whence he came. The Nausites near southeast of us being those by whom we were first encountered as before related, are much incensed against the English; about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped to Monhiggon; they were Sir F. Gorges' men, as our savage tells us. He also tells us of the fight we had with the Nausites, and of our tools lately taken

away, which we required him to bring. This people are ill affected to us because of Hunt, who carried away twenty from this place we now inhabit, and seven from the Nausites as before observed. He promises within a night or two to bring some of the Massasoits, with beaver skins to trade.

March 18. Samoset returns with five other men, who bring our tools with some skins and make show of friendship; but being the Lord's day, we would not trade, but entertaining them, bid them come again and bring more, which they promise within a night or two; but Samoset tarries with us.

March 21. This morning, the Indians not coming, we send Samoset to inquire the reason. In his absence, two or three savages present themselves on the top of the hill against us, with a show of daring us; but Capt. Standish and another with their muskets going over, the Indians whet their arrows and make show of defiance; but as our men advance they run away.

March 22. About noon, Samoset returns with Squanto, the only native of this place, one of the twenty Hunt had carried to Spain, but got into England, lived in Cornhill, London, with Mr. John Slanie, merchant, and can speak a little English, with three others; bring a few skins and signify that their great Sagamore Massasoit, the greatest king of the Indians bordering on us, is hard by, with his brother Quadequina and their company. After an hour, the king comes to the top of an hill over against us, with a train of sixty men. We send Squanto to him, who brings word that we should send one to parley with him. We send Mr. Edward Winslow to know his mind, and signify that our governor desires to see him and truck and confirm a peace. Upon this the king leaves Mr. Winslow in the custody of Quadequina and comes over the brook with a train of twenty men, leaving their bows and arrows behind them. Captain Standish and Master Williamson with six musketeers meet him at the brook, where they salute each other, conduct him to a house wherein they place a green rug and three or four cushions; then instantly comes our governor, with drum, trumpet, and musketeers; after salutations, the governor kiss-

ing his hand, and the king kissing him, they set down, the governor entertains him with some refreshments, and then they agree on a league of friendship.*

After this, the governor conducts him to the brook, where they embrace and part; we keeping six or seven hostages for our messenger. But Quadequina coming with his troop, we entertain and convey him back, receive our messenger, and return the hostages.

March 23. This morning, diverse Indians coming over tell us, the king would have some of us come and see him; Captain Standish and Mr. Isaac Allerton go venturously to them, whom they welcome after their manner; and about noon, they return to their place called Sowams, about forty miles off to the westward. The king is a portly man, in his best years, grave of countenance, spare of speech. And we cannot but judge he is willing to be at peace with us, especially because he has a potent adversary the Narragansets, who are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength, our pieces being terrible to them. But Samoset and Squanto tarry.

This day we meet on common business, conclude our military orders, with some laws convenient for our present state, and choose or rather confirm Mr. Carver our governor for the following year.

March 24. Dies Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Edward Winslow.

The first offence since our arrival is of John Billington who came on board at London, and is this month convented before the whole company for his contempt of the captain's lawful command with opprobrious speeches, for which he is adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together; but upon humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being the first offence, he is forgiven.

This month thirteen of our number die. And in three months past, dies half our company; the greatest part in the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being

* See terms of league page 40.

infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition brought upon them; so as there die sometimes two or three a day, of one hundred persons scarce fifty remain; the living scarce able to bury the dead, the well not sufficient to tend the sick; there being in their time of greatest distress but six or seven, who spare no pains to help them; two of the seven were Mr. Brewster their reverend elder, and Mr. Standish their captain.

The like disease fell also among the sailors, so as almost half of their company also die before they sail.

But the spring advancing it pleases God the mortality begins to cease, and the sick and lame recover, which puts new life into the people, though they had borne their sad affliction with as much patience as any could do.

April 5. We despatch the ship with Captain Jones, who this day sails from New Plymouth, and May 6 arrives in England.

After this we plant twenty acres of Indian corn, wherein Squanto is a great help, showing us how to set, fish, dress, and tend it, of which we have a good increase; we likewise sow six acres of barley and peas; our barley indifferent good, but our peas parched up with the sun.

May 12. The first marriage in this place, is of Mr. Edward Winslow to Mrs. Susanna White, widow of Mr. William White.

June 18. The second offence is the first duel fought in New England, upon a challenge of single combat with sword and dagger between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, servants of Mr. Hopkins; both being wounded, the one in the hand, the other in the thigh, they are adjudged by the whole company to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours, without meat or drink, which is begun to be inflicted, but within an hour, because of their great pains, at their own and their master's humble request, upon promise of better carriage, they are released by the governor.

July 2. We agree to send Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Steven Hopkins with Squanto to see our new friend Massa-

soit at Pakanokit, to bestow some gratuities on him, bind him faster to us, view the country, see how and where he lives, his strength, etc. (See Memorial, page 48.)

Tuesday. At nine this morning, we set out, travel fifteen miles westward to Namasket by three in the afternoon. The people entertain us with joy, give us bread they call Maizum, and the spawn of shads, which they now have in great plenty, and we eat with spoons. By sunset we get eight miles further to a Ware, where we find many of the Namascheuks, i. e. Namasket men, a fishing, having caught abundance of bass; who welcome us also, and there we lodge. The head of this river is said to be not far from the place of our abode, upon it are and have been many towns; the ground very good on both sides, for the most part cleared; thousands of men have lived here, who died of the great plague which befell these parts about three years before our arrival; the living not being able to bury them, and their skulls and bones appear in many places where their dwellings had been. Upon this river Massasoit lives; it goes into the sea at Narraganset Bay, where the Frenchmen use so much. Next morning we travel six miles by the river to a known shoal place, and it being low-water, put off our clothes and wade over; thus far the tide flows. We observe few places on the river but what had been inhabited, though now greatly wasted by the plague aforesaid. And so we travel to Pacanokit, where Massasoit kindly welcomes us and gratefully receives our presents, assures us he will gladly continue the peace and friendship, tells us the Narragansets live on the other side of that great bay, are a strong people, and many in number, live compactly, and were not touched with that wasting sickness; desires us not to let the French trade with them; and there we lodge. Next day, being Thursday, many of their sachems or petty governors come to visit us; we see their games for skins and knives, and there lodge again. Friday morning, before sunrise, we take our leave, Massasoit retaining Squanto to procure truck for us, appoints Tockamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions. That night we reach to the Ware, and the next night home.

July e. John Billington, a boy, being lost in the woods, the governor causes him to be inquired for among the natives; at length Massasoit sends word he is at Nauset. He had wandered five days, lived on berries, then light of an Indian plantation, twenty miles south of us called Manomet, and they conveyed him to the people who first assaulted us, but the governor sends ten men in a shallop with Squanto and Tockamahamon, to fetch him.

The first day the shallop sails for the harbor at Cummaquid, but night coming on, we anchor in the midst of the bay, where we are dry at low-water. Next morning the Indians on the other side of the channel invite us to come and eat with them; as soon as our boat floats, six of us go ashore, leaving four of them pledges in the boat, the rest bring us to their sachem, whom they call Iyanough, a man not above twenty-six years of age, but personable and courteous, who gives us plentiful and various cheer. After dinner we take boat for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men with us. But the day and tide failing, we cannot get in with our shallop. Iyanough with his men go ashore, and we send Squanto to tell Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, our errand. After sunset, Aspinet comes with a great train of a hundred with him bringing the boy, one bearing him through the water, delivers him to us. The sachem makes his peace with us. We give him a knife, and another to him who first entertained the boy. At this place we hear the Narragansets had spoiled some of Massasoit's men and taken him, which strikes us with some fear; and setting sail, carry Iyanough to Cummaquid, and get home the next day night. Those people also come and make their peace, and we give them full satisfaction for the corn we had formerly found in their country.

Hobamak a Pine-se, or chief captain of Massasoit, also comes to dwell among us, and continues faithful as long as he lives.

At our return from Nauset, we find it true that Massasoit is put from his country by the Narragansets, and word is brought us that Coubatant or Corbitant, a petty sachem under Massasoit, ever feared to be too conversant with the Nar-

ragansets, and no friend to the English, is at Namasket, seeking to draw the hearts of Massasoit's subjects from him, speaks disdainfully of us, storms at the peace between Nauset, Cummaquid, and us, and at Squanto the worker of it, as also at Tokamahamon and Hobamak. However, Squanto and Hobamak go privately to see what is become of their king, and lodge at Namasket, but are discovered to Corbitant, who besets the house, threatens to kill Squanto and Hobamak for being friends to us, seizes Squanto and holds a knife at his breast, offers to stab Hobamak, but being a stout man clears himself, concludes Squanto killed, and flies to our governor with the information.

August 13. At this the governor assembles our company, and taking counsel, it is conceived not fit to be borne; for if we should suffer our friends and messengers thus to be wronged, we shall have none to cleave to us, or give us intelligence, or do us any service, but would next fall upon us, etc. We therefore resolve to send ten men to-morrow with Hobamak, to seize our foes in the night; if Squanto be killed, to cut off Corbitant's head; but hurt only those who had a hand in the murder, and retain Nepeof another sachem in the confederacy, till we hear of Massasoit.

August 14. Capt. Standish with fourteen men and Hobamak set out in a rainy day, lose their way in the night, wet, weary, and much discouraged. But finding it again, beset Corbitant's house at midnight, where three Indians are sorely wounded in trying to break away, but find him gone, and Tokamahamon and Squanto safe. Corbitant having only threatened Squanto's life and made an offer to stab him.*

Next morning we march into the midst of the town, Hobamak telling the Indians what we only intended, they bring the best food they have, and we breakfast at Squanto's house; whither all whose hearts are upright to us come; but Corbitant's faction fled away. We declare that if Massasoit does not return in safety from Narraganset, or if Corbitant should make any insurrection against him, or offer violence to Squanto, Hobamak, or any of Massasoit's subjects, we would re-

* See pp. 48, 49.

venge it to the utter overthrow of him and his. With many friends attending us, we get home at night, bring with us the three wounded savages, whom we cure and send home.

After this we have many gratulations from divers sachems, and much firmer peace. Yea those of the Isle of Capawak send to secure our friendship, and Corbitant himself uses the mediation of Massasoit to be reconciled. Yea Canonicus, chief sachem of the Narragansets, sends a messenger to treat of peace.

Though we are told the Massachusetts often threaten us, yet the company think good to send among them, to discover the bay, see the country, make peace, and trade with the natives. The governor chooses ten men with Squanto and two other savages to go in the shallop.

September 18. At midnight, the tide serving, we set sail. Next day get into the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, about twenty leagues north from Plymouth, and anchor. Next morning, we land under a cliff. The sachem of this place is Obbatinewat, and though he lives in the bottom of this bay, yet is subject to Massasoit; uses us kindly, and tells us he dare not now remain in any settled place for fear of the Taratines, who live to the eastward, are wont to come, at harvest, and take away their corn, and many times kill them; and that the squaw sachem or Massachusetts queen is an enemy to him. He submits to the king of England, upon our promising to be his safeguard against his enemies. We cross the bay, which is very large, and seems to have fifty islands. Next morning, all but two go ashore, march three miles into the country, where corn had been newly gathered. A mile hence their late king Nanepashemet had lived; his house was built on a large scaffold, six foot high, and on the top of a hill. Not far hence in a bottom we come to a fort he had built; the palisades thirty or forty foot high; a trench about it breast high; but one way in, over a bridge. In the midst of the palisades stands the frame of a house, where he lies buried. A mile hence we come to such another, but on the top of a hill, where he was killed. The natives at first fly from us, but are at length induced to meet us here, and entertain

us in the best manner they can. Having traded with us, and the day near spent, we return to the shallop. Within this bay the savages say are two rivers, one of which we saw, having a fair entrance; better harbor for shipping cannot be than here; most of the islands have been inhabited, being cleared from end to end; but their inhabitants all dead or removed. Having a light moon, we set sail at evening, and before next day noon get home with a considerable quantity of beaver, and a good report of the place, wishing we had been seated there.

All the summer no want, while some were trading, others were fishing cod, bass, etc. We now gather in our harvest; and as cold weather advances, come in store of water fowl wherewith this place abounds, though afterwards they by degrees decrease; as also abundance of wild turkies with venison, etc. Fit our houses against winter, are in health and have all things in plenty.

November 9. Arrives a ship at Cape Cod, and the tenth the Indians bring us word of her being near, but think her a Frenchman, upon her making for our bay, the governor orders a piece to be fired, to call home such as are abroad at work, and we get ready for defence, but unexpectedly find her a friend, of fifty-five ton, called the *Fortune*, in which comes Mr. Cushman with thirty-five persons, to live in the plantation, which not a little rejoices us. But both ship and passengers poorly furnished with provisions; so that we are forced to spare her some to carry her home, which threatens a famine among us, unless we have a timely supply. She sailed from London the beginning of July, could not clear the channel until the end of August, and brings a letter for Mr. Carver from Mr. Weston, dated London, July 6, wherein he writes, we (that is, the adventurers) have procured you a Charter, the best we could, better than your former, and with less limitation. She finds all our people she left in April, in health, except six who died, and stays a month ere she sails for England.

December 11. We have built seven dwelling-houses; four for the use of the plantation, and have made provision for

divers others. Both Massasoit, the greatest king of the natives and all the princes and people round us have made peace with us, seven of them at once sent their messengers for this end. And as we cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, we obtained the honor to receive allowance of our possessing and enjoying thereof under the authority of the President and Council for the affairs of New England.

December 13. The ship sails, namely, the *Fortune*, laden with two hogsheads of beaver and other skins, and good clapboards as full as she can hold; the freight estimated near five hundred pounds; Mr. Cushman returning in her, as the adventurers had appointed for their better information. But in her voyage as she draws near the English coast, is seized by the French, carried to France, into the *Isle Deu*, kept there fourteen or fifteen days, robbed of all she had worth taking; then the people and ship released, get to London, February 14 or 17.

Upon her departure, the governor and his assistant dispose the late comers into several families, find their provisions will now scarce hold out six months at half allowance, and therefore put them to it, which they bear patiently.

1622.

Soon after the ship's departure, that great people of the Narragansets, said to be many thousands strong, can raise above five thousand fighting men, notwithstanding they desired and obtained peace with us in the foregoing summer, begin to breathe forth many threats against us; so that it is the common talk of all the Indians round us, of their preparations to come against us. At length Canonicus, their chief sachem, in a braving manner sends us a bundle of arrows tied with a snakeskin, which Squanto tells us is a challenge and threatening. Whereupon our governor with advice of others, sends them an answer, that if they had rather war than peace, they might begin when they would; we had done

them no wrong, nor do we fear them, nor should they find us unprovided. By another messenger we send back the snake-skin charged with powder and bullets; but they refuse to receive it, and return it to us. Since the death of so many Indians they thought to lord it over the rest, conceive we are a bar in their way, and see Massasoit already take shelter under our wings.

This makes us more carefully to look to ourselves, and agree to inclose our dwellings with strong pales, flankers, gates, etc.

February. We impale our town, taking in the top of the hill under which our own town is seated; make four bulwarks or jetties, whence we can defend the whole town, in three whereof are gates, which are locked every night; a watch and ward kept in the day. The governor and captain divide the company into four squadrons with commanders, every one its quarter assigned, to repair to in any alarm. And if there be a cry of fire, a company is appointed for a guard with muskets, while others quench it, to prevent treachery.

May. Our provision being spent, a famine begins to pinch us, and we look hard for supply, but none arrives.

May e. We spy a boat at sea, which we take to be a Frenchman, but proves a shallop from a ship called the Sparrow, which Mr. Weston and Beachamp set out a fishing at Damarin's Cove, forty leagues to the eastward, where this year are thirty sail of ships a fishing. She brings a letter to Mr. Carver from Mr. Weston, of January 17, with seven passengers on his account; but no victuals, nor hope of any; nor have we ever any afterwards; and by his letter find he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own.

The boat brings us a kind letter from Mr. John Huddleston, or Hudston, a captain of a ship, fishing at the eastward, whose name we never heard before, to inform us of a massacre of four hundred English by the Indians in Virginia, whence he came. By this boat, the governor returns a grateful answer; and with them sends Mr. Winslow in a boat of ours to get provisions of the fishing ships; whom Captain

Huddleston receives kindly, and not only spares what he can, but writes to others to do the like. By which means he gets as much bread as amounts to a quarter of a pound a person per day, till harvest, and returns in safety. The governor causing their portion to be daily given them, or some had starved. And by this voyage we not only got a present supply, but also learn the way to those parts for our future benefit.

At Mr. Winslow's return, he finds the colony much weaker than he left it. The want of bread had abated the strength and flesh of some, had swelled others; and had they not been where are diverse sorts of shell fish, they must have perished. These extremities befell us in May and June; and in the time of these straits, and indeed before Mr. Winslow went to Monhiggon, the Indians began to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off; which occasions us to erect a fort on the hill above us.

June e, or July b. Come into our harbor two ships of Mr. Weston's, the *Charity* of one hundred tons, and *Swan* of thirty, with his letter of April 10, and fifty or sixty men, sent at his own charge, to settle a plantation for him in the Massachusetts Bay, for which he had procured a patent, they sailed from London about the last of April, the *Charity*, the bigger ship, leaves them, having many passengers to carry to Virginia. We allow this people housing, and many being sick, they have the best means our place affords.

By Mr. Weston's ship comes a letter from Mr. John Pierce, in whose name the Plymouth patent is taken; signifying that whom the governor admits into the association he will approve.

July 16. Our number is about one hundred persons, all in health, [that is, free from sickness, though not from weakness,] near sixty acres of ground well planted with corn, besides gardens replenished with useful fruits.

This summer we build a timber fort, both strong and comely, with flat roof and battlements; on which ordnance are mounted, a watch kept, and it also serves as a place of public worship.

Mr. Weston's people stay here the most part of the summer, while some seek out a place for them. They exceedingly waste and steal our corn, and yet secretly revile us. At length their coasters return, having found in the Massachusetts Bay a place they judged fit for settlement, named Wichaguscusset, or Wesagusquasset, or Wessagusset, since called Weymouth; whither upon their ship (that is, the Charity,) returning from Virginia, the body of them go, leaving their sick and lame with us till they had built some housing, whom our surgeon by God's help, recovers gratis, and they afterwards fetch home, nor have we any recompense for this courtesy, nor desire it. They prove an unruly company, have no good government over them; by disorder will soon fall to want if Mr. Weston come not quickly among them. Nor had they been long from us ere the Indians fill our ears with clamors against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses.

Our crop proving scanty, partly through weakness for want of food, to tend it, partly through other business, and partly by much being stolen, a famine must ensue next year, unless prevented. But

Aug. e. By an unexpected Providence, come into our harbor two ships; namely, the Sparrow, Mr. Weston's, who having made her voyage of fish, goes to Virginia, where both she and her fish are sold. The other called the Discovery, Captain Jones, commander, on her way from Virginia, homeward, being sent out by some merchants to discover the shoals about Cape Cod, and harbors between this and Virginia. Of her we buy knives and beads, which are now good trade, though at cent per cent or more, and yet pay away coat beaver at 3s. a pound (which a few years after yields 20s.) By which means we are fitted to trade, both for corn and beaver.

In this ship comes Mr. John Porey, who had been secretary in Virginia, and is going home in her; who after his departure sends the governor a letter of thanks, dated August 28; wherein he highly commends Mr. Ainsworth's and Robinson's

works. And after his return to England, does this poor plantation much credit among those of no mean rank.

Sept. e. or Oct. b. Mr. Weston's largest ship, the Charity, returns to England, leaving his people sufficiently victualled. The lesser, namely, the Swan, remains with his plantation for their further help.

Nov. The governor goes with them, but seeing no passage through the shoals of Cape Cod, puts into a harbor at Manamoyk. That evening the governor, with Squanto and others, go ashore to the Indian houses, stay all night, trade with the natives, get eight hogsheads of corn and beans. Here Squanto falls sick of a fever, bleeding much at the nose, which the Indians reckon a fatal symptom, and here in a few days dies; desiring the governor to pray that he might go the Englishman's God in heaven, bequeathing his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom we have a great loss. Thence sail to the Massachusetts, find a great sickness among the natives, not unlike the plague, if not the same; must give as much for a quart of corn as we used for a beaver skin. The savages renew their complaints to our governor against those English. Thence sail to Nauset, buy eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans, as also at Mattachiest; but our shallop being cast away, we cannot get our corn aboard; our governor causes it to be stacked and covered; and charging the Indians with it, he procures a guide, sets out on foot, being fifty miles, receiving all respect from the natives by the way, weary and with galled feet comes home; three days after, the ship comes also; and the corn being divided, Mr. Weston's people return to their plantation.

1623.

January. Captain Standish being recovered, takes another shallop, sails to Nauset, finds the corn left there in safety, mends the other shallop, gets the corn aboard the ship; but it being very cold and stormy, is obliged to cut the shallops from the stern of the ship, and loose them; but the storm being over, finds them. While we lodge ashore, an Indian

steals some trifles out of the shallop as she lay in a creek ; which when the captain missed, he takes some of his company, goes to the sachem, requires the goods, or would revenge it on them before he left them. On the morrow, the sachem comes to our rendezvous with many men, salutes the captain, licking his hand and bowing down, delivers the goods, says he had beaten the stealer, was very sorry for the fact, orders the women to make and bring us bread, and is glad to be reconciled ; so we come home and divide the corn as before.

After this the governor with another company goes to Namasket, buys corn there ; where a great sickness rising among the natives, our people fetch it home.

The governor also, with Hobamak and others, go to Manomet, a town near twenty miles south of Plymouth, stands on a fresh river running into a bay towards the Narraganset which cannot be less than sixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten tons to this place ; hither the Dutch or French or both used to come. It is from hence to the bay of Cape Cod about eight miles, out of which bay the sea flows into a creek about six miles, almost directly towards the town. The heads of this creek and river are not far distant. The sachem of this place is Caunacum, who, September 13, last, with many others, owned themselves subjects of King James, and now uses the governor very kindly ; the governor lodging here in a very bitter night, buys corn, but leaves it in the sachem's custody.

February. Having not much corn left, Captain Standish goes again with six men in the shallop to Mattachiest, meeting with the like extreme weather, being froze in the harbor the first night, gets a good quantity of corn of the natives ; through extremity is forced to lodge in their houses, which they much press, with a design to kill him, as after appeared. For now begins a conspiracy among the Indians to destroy the English, though to us unknown ; but the captain ordering his men to keep awake by turns, is saved. Here also an Indian steals some trifles, which the captain no sooner perceived, but though he had no more than six men with him, yet draws them from the boat, besets the sachem's house,

where most of the people were, and threatens to fall upon them without delay, if they would not forthwith restore them; signifying that as he would not offer the least injury, so he would not receive any, without due satisfaction. Hereupon the sachem finds out the party, makes him return the goods; and this act so daunts their courage, that they dare not attempt any thing against the captain; but to appease his anger, bring corn afresh to trade; so as he lades his shallop and comes home in safety.

March b. The captain having refreshed himself, takes a shallop and goes to Manomet for the corn the governor had bought. Being with two of his men far from the boat at Caunacum's house, two natives come in from the Massachusetts, the chief of whom is Wituwamet, a notable, insulting Indian; who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood both of French and English, derides our weakness and boasts his valor. He came, as appears afterwards, to engage Caunacum in the conspiracy; the weather being cold, they would persuade the captain to send to the boat for the rest of his company; but he refusing, they help carry the corn. There a lusty savage of Paomet, had undertaken to kill him in the rendezvous before they part; upon which they intend to fall on the other. But the night being exceeding cold, the captain could not rest without turning his sides to the fire continually; whereby the Indian missed his opportunity. The next day would fain persuade the captain to go to Paomet, where he had much corn, and the captain put forth with him; but the wind forcing them back, they come to Plymouth.

March. While the captain was at Manomet, news comes to Plymouth that Massasoit is like to die, and that a Dutch ship is driven ashore before his house so high that she could not be got off till the tides increase. Upon which the governor sends Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. John Hambden, a gentleman of London, with Hobamak to visit and help him, and speak with the Dutch. The first night we lodge at Namasket. Next day at one, come to a ferry in Corbitant's country, and three miles further to Mattapuyst, his dwelling-place, though he be no friend to us, but find him gone to

Pakanokit, about five or six miles off. Late within night we get thither, whence the Dutch had departed about two in the afternoon, find Massasoit extremely low, his sight gone, his teeth fixed, having swallowed nothing for two days, but using means, he surprisingly revives; we stay and help him two nights and two days; at the end of the latter, taking our leave he expresses his great thankfulness; we come and lodge with Corbitant, at Mattapuyst, who wonders that we being but two should be so venturous. Next day, on our journey, Hobamak tells us, that at his coming away, Massasoit privately charged him to tell Mr. Winslow, there was a plot of the Massachusuks against Weston's people, and lest we should revenge it, against us also; that the Indians of Paomet, Nauset, Mattachiest, Succonet, the Isle of Capawak, Manomet, and Agawaywom are joined with them; and advises us by all means, as we value our lives and the lives of our countrymen, to kill the conspirators at Massachusetts, and the plot would cease; and without delay, or it would be too late. That night we lodge at Namasket, the next day get home; where we find Captain Standish had sailed this day for the Massachusetts, but contrary winds had driven him back, and the Paomet Indian still soliciting the captain to go with him. At the same time, Wissapinewat, another sachem, brother to Obtakiest, sachem of the Massachusetts, reveals the same thing.

March 23. Being a yearly court day, the governor communicates his intelligence to the whole company, and asks their advice; who leave it to the governor, with his assistant and the captain to do as they think most meet. Upon this, they order the captain to take as many men as he thinks sufficient, to go forthwith and fall on the conspirators, but forbear till he makes sure of Wituwamet, the bloody savage, before spoken of. The captain takes but eight lest he should raise a jealousy.

The next day comes one of Weston's men, through the woods to Plymouth, though he knew not a step of the way, but indeed had lost the path, which was a happy mistake; for being pursued, the Indian thereby missed him but by little,

and went to Manomet; the man makes a pitiful narration of their weak and dangerous state, with the insults of the Indians over them, and that to give the savages content, since Sanders went to Monhiggon, they had hanged one who had stole their corn, though he was bedrid,* and yet they were not satisfied. Some died with cold and hunger; one in gathering shell-fish, was so weak that he stuck in the mud and was found dead in the place; the rest were ready to starve, and he dare stay no longer.

The next day the captain sails and arrives there, is suspected, insulted, and threatened by the savages. But at length watching an opportunity, having Wituwamet and Peksuot, a notable Pinese, that is counsellor and warrior, with another man, and a brother of Wituwamet, with as many of his own men together, he falls upon and after a violent struggle slays the three former with their own knives, orders the last to be hanged, goes to another place, kills another, fights and makes the rest to fly, and Mr. Weston's men kill two more. But the captain releases the Indian women, would not take their beaver coats, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.

While Capt. Standish was gone, the savage who went to Manomet, returning through our town was secured till the captain came back; then confessed the plot, and says that Obtakiest was drawn to it by the importunity of his people; is now sent to inform him of the grounds of our proceeding, and require him to send us the three Englishmen among them. After some time, Obtakiest persuades an Indian woman to come and tell the governor, he was sorry they were killed before he heard from us, or he would have sent them, and desires peace.

But this action so amazes the natives, that they forsake their houses, run to and fro, live in swamps, etc.; which brings on them sundry diseases, whereof many die; as Cannacum, sachem of Manomet; Aspines, sachem of Nauset; Iyanough,

* " ——— In his stead did
Hang an old weaver that was bedrid."

HUDIBRASS.

sachem of Mattachiest; and many others are still daily dying among them. From one of those places a boat is sent to the governor with presents to work their peace; but not far from Plymouth is cast away, when three are drowned, and one escaping, dare not come to us.

April b. No supply being heard of nor knowing when to expect any, we consider how to raise a better crop, and not languish still in misery. We range all the youth under some family, agree that every family plant for their own particular, and trust to themselves for food, but at harvest bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, etc., and in all other things go on in the general way as before; for this end assign every family a parcel of land in proportion to their number, though make no division for inheritance; which has very good success, makes all industrious, gives content; even the women and children now go into the field to work, and much more corn is planted than ever.

Shortly after Mr. Weston's people went to the eastward, he comes there himself with some of the fishermen, under another name and disguise of a blacksmith; where he hears the ruin of his plantation; and getting a shallop with a man or two comes on to see how things are; but in a storm is cast away in the bottom of the bay between Pascataquak and Merrimak river, and hardly escapes with his life, afterwards he falls into the hands of the Indians, who pillage him of all he saved from the sea, and strip him of all his clothes to his shirt. At length he gets to Pascataquak, borrows a suit of clothes, finds means to come to Plymouth, and desires to borrow some beaver of us. Notwithstanding our straits, yet in consideration of his necessity, we let him have one hundred and seventy odd pounds of beaver, with which he goes to the eastward, stays his small ship and some of his men, buys provision and fits himself, which is the foundation of his future courses; and yet never repaid us any thing save reproaches, and becomes our enemy on all occasions.

April m. We begin to set our corn, the setting season being good till the latter end of May. But by the time our

corn is planted, our victuals are spent; not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together, yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on providence.

Having but one boat left, we divide the men into several companies, six or seven in each; who take their turns to go out with a net and fish, and return not till they get some, though they be five or six days out; knowing there is nothing at home, and to return empty would be a great discouragement. When they stay long, or get but little, the rest go a digging shell-fish; and thus we live the summer; only sending one or two to range the woods for deer, they now and then get one, which we divide among the company; and in the winter are helped with fowl and groundnuts.

Now also we hear of the third repulse our supply had, of their safe though dangerous return to England, and of their preparing to come to us. Upon all which, another day is set apart for solemn and public thanksgiving.

From the general, subscribed by thirteen, we have also a letter wherein they say, Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty; the honor shall be yours to the world's end; we bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is toward you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray your safety as their own.

August 14. The fourth marriage is of Gov. Bradford to Mrs. Alice Southworth, widow.

September 10. The pinnace being fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, is now ready to sail; and this day the Ann, having been hired by the company, sails for London, being laden with clapboards, and all the beaver and other furs we have; with whom we send Mr. Winslow, to inform how things are and procure what we want.

Now our harvest comes, instead of famine we have plenty, and the face of things is changed to the joy of our hearts; nor has there been any general want of food among us since to this day.

The pinnace being sent about the Cape to trade with the Narragansets, gets some corn and beaver, yet makes but a poor voyage; the Dutch having used to furnish them with cloth and better commodities, whereas she had only beads and knives, which are not there much esteemed.

1624.

About this year, the fame of the plantation at New Plymouth being spread in all the western parts of England, the Reverend Mr. White, a famous Puritan minister of Dorchester, excites several gentlemen there to make way for another settlement in New England; who now on a common stock, send over sundry persons to begin a plantation at Cape Ann, employ Mr. John Tilly their overseer of planting, and Mr. Thomas Gardener of the fishery for the present year.

March. By Mr. Winslow we have several letters; (1) from Mr. Robinson to the governor, dated Leyden, December 19, [I suppose new style, but in ours December 9,] 1623, wherein he writes with great concern and tenderness about our killing the savage conspirators at the Massachusetts; says, O how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you killed any! etc. (2) From the same to Mr. Brewster, dated Leyden, December 20, [I suppose new style, but in ours December 10,] 1623, wherein he writes of the deferring of their desired transportation through the opposition of some of the adventurers; five or six being absolutely bent for them above all others, five or six are their professed adversaries, the rest more indifferent, yet influenced by the latter, who above all others are unwilling that he should be transported, etc. (3) From R. C. [I conclude Mr. Cushman at London,] dated January 24, 1623, 4, wherein he writes, they send a carpenter to build two ketches, a lighter and six or seven shallops, a salt man to make salt, and a preacher, though not the most eminent, for whose going (says he) Mr. Winslow and I gave way to give content to some at London; the ship to be laden as soon as you can, and sent to Bilboa, to send Mr. Winslow again; we have taken a patent for Cape Ann, etc.

This spring the people requesting the governor to have some land for continuance, and not by yearly lot as before, he gives every person an acre to them and theirs, as near the town as can be, and no more till the seven years expire, that we may keep close together for greater defence and safety.

The ship is soon discharged and sent to Cape Ann a fishing, and some of our planters to help build her stages to their own hinderance; but through the drunkenness of the master which the adventurers sent, made a poor voyage, and would have been worse, had we not kept one a trading there who got some skins for the company.

The fishing masters sending us word, that if we would be at the cost, they would help to weigh our pinnace near Damarin's Cove, and their carpenter should mend her; we therefore sent, and with several ton of cask fastened to her at low-water, they buoy her up, and hale her ashore, mend her, and our people bring her to us again.

June 17. Born at Plymouth to Governor Bradford, his son William, who afterwards becomes deputy governor of the colony.

This month dies Mr. George Morton, a gracious servant of God, an unfeigned lover and promoter of the common good and growth of this plantation, and faithful in whatever public employment he was intrusted with.

The ship carpenter sent us is an honest and very industrious man, quickly builds us two very good and strong shallops, with a great and strong lighter, and had hewn timber for two ketches; but this is spoilt; for in the hot season of the year he falls into a fever and dies, to our great loss and sorrow.

But the salt man is an ignorant, foolish, and self-willed man; who chooses a spot for his salt-works, will have eight or ten men to help him, is confident the ground is good, makes a carpenter rear a great frame of a house for the salt and other like uses; but finds himself deceived in the bottom; will then have a lighter to carry clay, etc., yet all in vain; he could do nothing but boil salt in pans. The next year is sent to Cape Ann, and there the pans are set up by

the fishery; but before the summer is out, he burns the house, and spoils the pans, and there is an end of this chargeable business.

July. Upon this the governor calls a court, summons the whole company to appear, charges Lyford and Oldham with plotting and writing against us, which they deny. The governor then produces their own letters, they are confounded and convicted; Oldham being outrageous would have raised a mutiny, but his party leaves him, and the Court expels them the colony; Oldham presently, though his wife and family have leave to stay the winter, or till he can make provision to remove them comfortably. He goes and settles at Natasco, i. e. Nantasket, [at the entrance of the Massachusetts Bay] where the Plymouth people had before set up a building to accommodate their trade with the Massachusetts; and there Mr. Roger Conant and some others with their families retire and stay a year and some few months. Lyford has leave to stay six months, owns his fault before the court, that all he had written is false, and the sentence far less than he deserves; afterwards confesses the same to the church with many tears, begs forgiveness, and is restored to his teaching.

August 5. The ninth marriage at New Plymouth is of Mr. Thomas Prince with Mrs. Patience Brewster, [he is afterwards governor; and by this only hint I find he was now in the country.]

Aug. 22. At New Plymouth, there are now about one hundred and eighty persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirty-two dwelling houses; the town is impaled about half a mile in compass; on a high mount in the town, they have a fort well built with wood, lime, and stone, and a fair watchtower. The place it seems is healthful; for in the three last years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessities, there hath not one died of the first planters. And this year they have freighted a ship of one hundred and eighty tons, etc.

The general stock already employed by the adventurers to Plymouth, is about seven thousand pounds.

At Cape Ann there is a plantation beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plymouth; who also by them have set up a fishing work.

1625.

This winter Mr. White with the Dorchester adventurers, hearing of some religious persons lately removed from New Plymouth to Nantasket from dislike of their rigid principles, among whom was Mr. Roger Conant, a pious, sober, and prudent gentleman, they choose Mr. Conant to manage their affairs at Cape Ann, both of planting and fishing; and Mr. White engages Mr. Humphrey, their treasurer, to signify to him the same by writing. They also invite Mr. Lyford to be minister to the plantation, and Mr. Oldham to manage their trade with the natives.

But upon this decision the company of adventurers to Plymouth break in pieces; two thirds of them deserting us; yea, some of Lyford's and Oldham's friends set out a ship a fishing, under one Mr. Hewes, and getting the start of ours they take our stage and other provisions made for fishing at Cape Ann the year before, to our great charge, and refuse to restore it without fighting; upon which we let them keep it, and our governor sends some planters to help the fishermen build another.

Yet some of the adventurers still cleaving to us, they by Mr. Winslow write on December 18, 1624, as follows: We cannot forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship we have had some years, our hearty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less than to our nearest friends, yea to our own selves. As there has been a faction among us [at London] more than two years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. The Company's debts are not less than 1,400*l.*, and we hope you will do your best to free them. We are still persuaded you are the people that must make a plantation in those remote places when all others fail. We have sent some cattle, clothes, hoes, shoes, leather, etc., but in another nature than formerly, having committed them to the

charge of Mr. Allerton and Winslow to sell, as our factors, etc. The goods are ordered to be sold at seventy per cent. advance, a thing thought unreasonable and a great oppression. The cattle are the best commodity.

They send also two ships a fishing upon their own account; the one is the pinnace which had been sunk and weighed as before; the other a large ship, which makes a great voyage of good dry fish, that would fetch 1,800*l.* at Bilboa or St. Sebastians, whither her owners had ordered her; but there being a rumor of a war with France, the master, timorous, sails to Plymouth and Portsmouth, whereby he loses the opportunity, to their great detriment. The lesser ship is filled with goodly codfish taken on the bank, with eight hundred weight of beaver, besides other fur from our plantation. They go joyfully together homeward, the bigger ship towing the lesser all the way till they are shot deep into the English channel, almost within sight of Plymouth; when a Turkish man-of-war takes the lesser and carries her off to Sally, where the master and men are made slaves; and many of the beaver skins sold for four pence apiece.

In the bigger ship Captain Standish goes out agent, both to the remaining adventurers for more goods, and to the New England Council to oblige the others to come to a composition; but arrived there in a bad time, the State being full of trouble, and the plague very hot in London; there die such multitudes weekly that trade is dead, little money stirring, and no business can be done. However, he engages several of the Council to promise their helpfulness to our plantation; but our remaining adventurers are so much weakened by their loss of the fish, and of the ship the Turks had taken, they can do but little.

Meanwhile, God gives us peace and health with contented minds; and so succeeds our labors that we have corn sufficient and some to spare, with other provisions; nor had we ever any supply [from England] but what we first brought with us. After harvest we send a boat load of corn forty or fifty leagues to the eastward up Kennebec river; it being one of those two shallows our carpenter built the year before, for we

have no larger vessel. We had laid a deck over her midship to keep the corn dry, but the men were forced to stand in all weathers without any shelter, and the time of year begins to grow tempestuous, but God preserves and prospers them, for they bring home seven hundred weight of beaver besides other fur, having little or nothing but our corn to purchase them. This voyage was made by Mr. Winslow and some old standards, for seamen we have none.

December 23. From December 22, 1624, to this day, there die of the plague in London and Westminster, 41,313.

1626.

About a year after we had sent Oldham away, as he is sailing for Virginia, being in extreme danger, he makes a free and large confession of the wrongs he had done the church and people at Plymouth; and as he had sought their ruin the Lord might now destroy him; beseeching God to forgive him, making vows if he be spared to carry otherwise; and being spared he after carries fairly to us, owns the hand of God to be with us, seems to have an honorable respect for us, and we give him liberty to come and converse with us when he pleases.

April b. We hear of Captain Standish arriving in a fishing ship, send a boat to fetch him, and welcome he is; had taken up for us 150*l.* though at 50 per cent.; which, his expense deducted, he laid out in suitable goods, and has prepared the way for our composition with the Company. But the news he brings is sad in many regards; not only of the losses mentioned, whereby some of our friends are disabled to help us, and others dead of the plague; but also that our dear pastor Mr. Robinson is dead, about the fiftieth year of his age, which strikes us with great sorrow. His and our enemies had been continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither; but the Lord has appointed him a better place.

Having now no business but trading and planting, we set

ourselves to follow them. The people finding corn a commodity, having sold it at six shillings a bushel, they use great diligence in planting; and the trade being retained for the general good, the governor and other managers apply it to the best advantage. For wanting proper goods, and understanding the plantation at Monhiggon, belonging to some merchants of Plymouth [in England] is to break up, and divers goods to be sold, the governor with Mr. Winslow take a boat and with some hands go thither. Mr. David Thompson, who lives at Piscataway, going with us on the same design, we agree to buy all their goods and divide them equally. Our moiety comes to 400*l*. we also buy a parcel of goats which we distribute to our people for corn to their great content. We likewise buy the French goods aforesaid, which makes our part arise to above 500*l*. and which we mostly pay with the beaver and commodities we got last winter, and what we had gathered this summer.

After harvest, with our goods and corn, we get such store of trade, as to discharge some other engagements, namely, the money took up by Capt. Standish, with the remains of former debts, to get some clothing for the people, and have some commodities beforehand.

This year we send Mr. Allerton to England, to finish with the adventurers, take up more money, and buy us goods.

Finding we run great hazards in going such long voyages in a little open boat, especially in the winter season, we consider how to get a small pinnace. And having no ship-builder, but an ingenious housewright, who wrought with our ship-carpenter, deceased, at our request he tries his skill, saws our bigger shallop across the middle, lengthens her five or six foot, strengthens her with timbers, builds her up decks, and makes her a convenient vessel. The next year we fit her with sails and anchors, and she does us service seven years.

1627.

Not many days after the governor came home, the people at Monamoyack send him word that their ship being mended,

a great storm drove her ashore, and so shattered her as to make her wholly unfit for sea; beg leave and means to transport themselves and goods to us, and be with us till they find passage to Virginia. We readily help to transport and shelter them and their goods in our houses. The chief among them are Mr. Fells and Silsby, who have many servants. Upon their coming to Plymouth and being somewhat settled, seeing the winter before them, and like to be the latter end of the year before they can get to Virginia, the masters desire some ground to employ their servants, clear, plant, and help bear their charge, which being granted, they raise a great deal of corn.

This spring, at the usual season of the ships' coming, Mr. Allerton returns, having taken up for us 200*l*. at thirty per cent., laid them out in suitable goods and brings them to the great content of the plantation. With no small trouble and the help of sundry faithful friends who took much pains, he made a composition with the adventurers on October 26 last, which they signed November 15; a draught of which he brings for our acceptance; wherein we allow them 1,800*l*. paying 200*l*. at the Royal Exchange every Michaelmas, the first payment to be in 1628; in consideration of which the company sell us all their shares, stocks, merchandises, lands, and chattels, which is well approved and agreed to by the whole plantation; though they scarce know how to raise the payment, discharge their other engagements, and supply their yearly wants; seeing they are forced to take up moneys or goods at such high interests; yet they undertake it, and seven or eight of the chief become jointly bound in behalf of the rest to make said payments; wherein we run a great venture, as our condition is, having many other heavy burdens upon us, and all things in an uncertain state among us.

Upon this, to make all easy, we take every head of a family, with every young man of age and prudence, both of the first comers and those who have since arrived into partnership with us; agree the trade shall be managed as before, to pay the debts, that every single freeman shall have a single share, and every father of a family also leave to purchase a share for

himself, one for his wife, one for every child living with him; and every one shall pay his part toward the debts according to the shares he holds; which gives content to all. We accordingly divide one cow and two goats by lot to every six shares; and swine, though more in number, in the same proportion; to every share twenty acres of tillable land by lot, besides the single acres with the gardens and homesteads they had before; the most abutting on the water-side, five in breadth and four in depth; but no meadows laid out till many years after, because being strait of meadow it might hinder additions to us; though at every season all are ordered where to mow, in proportion to their number of cattle.

[May and June.] For greater convenience of trade, to discharge our engagements, and maintain ourselves, we build a small pinnace at Monamet, a place on the sea, twenty miles to the south; to which by another creek on this side we transport our goods by water within four or five miles, and then carry them overland to the vessel; thereby avoid our compassing Cape Cod with those dangerous shoals, and make our voyage to the southward with far less time and hazard. For the safety of our vessel and goods we there also build a house, and keep some servants; who plant corn, rear swine, and are always ready to go out with the bark; which takes good effect, and turns to advantage.

July. But besides the discharge of our heavy engagements, our great concern is to help over our friends at Leyden; who as much desire to come to us as we desire their company. The governor, therefore, with Mr. Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton, now run a great venture; and hire the trade of the colony for six years, to begin the last of next September; and for this with the shallop called the Bass Boat, and pinnace lately built in Manomet, with the stock in the storehouse, we this month undertake to pay the 1,800*l.* with all other debts of the plantation, amounting to 600*l.* more; bring over for them fifty pounds a year in hoes and shoes, sell them for corn at six shillings a bushel; and at the end of the term return the trade to the colony.

The latter end of the summer the Virginia people at Plymouth sell us their corn, go thither in a couple of barks; and afterwards several of them express their thankfulness to us. And [now it seems] Mr. Lyford sails with some of his people also to Virginia, and there shortly dies.

With the return of the ships we send Mr. Allerton again to England. 1st. To conclude our bargain with the company, and deliver our nine bonds for the paying the 200*l.* at every Michaelmas for nine years. 2d. To carry our beaver and pay some of our late engagements; for our excessive interest still keeps us low. 3d. To get a patent for a fit trading place on Kennebeck river; especially since the planters at Pascataway and other places eastward of them, as also the fishing ships envy our trading there, and threaten to get a patent to exclude us; though we first discovered and began the same, and brought it to so good an issue. 4th. To deal with some of our special friends in London, to join with the said eight undertakers, both for the discharge of the colony's debts, and the helping our friends from Leyden.

Nov. 6. Mr. Allerton concludes our bargain with the company at London, delivers our bonds and receives their deed.

1628.

Mr. Allerton having settled all things in a hopeful way, returns in the first of the spring with our supply for trade. The fishermen with whom he comes used to set forth in winter and be here betimes. He has paid the first 200*l.* of our 1,800*l.* to the adventurers; as also all our debts to others, except Mr. Sherley, Beachamp, and Andrews, to whom we now owe but 400 and odd pounds; informs that our said three friends and some others will join us in our six years' bargain, and will send to Leyden for a number to come next year; brings a competent supply of goods, with a patent for Kennebeck, but so strait and ill bounded as we are forced to get renewed and enlarged the next year, as also that we have at home, to our great charge. He likewise brings us one Mr. Rogers, a young man, for minister.

The New Plymouth people having obtained their patent for Kennebeck, now erect a house up the river, in a convenient place for trade; and furnish it both winter and summer with corn and other commodities, such as the fishermen had traded with; as coats, shirts, rugs, blankets, biscuit, peas, prunes, etc.; what we could not get from England we buy of the fishing ships, and so carry on the business as well as we can.

This year the Dutch send to us again from their plantation both kind letters and diverse commodities; as sugar, linen stuffs, etc.; come with their bark to our house at Monamet; their secretary Rasier comes with trumpeters, etc.; but not being able to travel to us by land, desires us to send a boat within side [the Cape] to fetch him; so we send a boat to Manonscusset, and bring him with the chief of his company to Plymouth. After a few days' entertainment he returns to his bark; some of us go with him, and buy sundry goods. After which beginning they often send to the same place, and we trade together divers years, sell much tobacco for linens, stuffs, etc., which proves a great benefit to us, till the Virginians find out their colony.

But that which in time turns most to our advantage is, their now acquainting and entering us in the trade of wampam; telling us how vendible it is at their fort Orania, and persuading we shall find it so at Kennebeck. Upon this, we buy about fifty pounds worth. At first it sticks, and it is two years before we can put it off; till the inland Indians come to know it, and then we can scarce procure enough for many years together. By which and other provisions, we quite cut off the trade both from the fishermen and straggling planters. And strange it is to see the great alteration it in a few years makes among the savages. For the Massachusetts and others in these parts had scarce any; it being only made and kept among the Pequots and Narragansets, who grew rich and potent by it; whereas the rest who use it not, are poor and beggarly.

Hitherto the natives of these parts have no other arms but bows and arrows, nor many years after. But the Indians in

the eastern parts, having commerce with the French, first have guns of them, and at length they make it a common trade. In time, our English fishermen follow their example; but upon complaint against them, the king by a strict proclamation forbid the same, and commanded that no sort of arms or munition be traded with them.

1629.

August. Thirty-five of our friends with their families from Leyden arrive at New Plymouth. They were shipped at London in May with the ships that came to Salem; which bring over many pious people to begin the churches there and in the Massachusetts Bay. So their being thus long kept back is now recompensed by Heaven with a double blessing; in that we not only enjoy them beyond our late expectation, when all hope seemed to be cut off, but with them many more godly friends and Christian brethren, as the beginning of a larger harvest to Christ, in the increase of his people and churches in these parts of the earth, to the admiration of many and almost wonder of the world.

The charge of our Leyden friends is reckoned on the several families; some fifty pounds, some forty, some thirty, as their number and expenses were; which our undertakers pay for gratis; besides giving them houses, preparing them grounds to plant on, and maintain them with corn, etc., above thirteen or fourteen months before they have a harvest of their own production.*

* See notes on pages 110-112.

GOV. BRADFORD'S DIALOGUE.

MORTON'S PREFACE.

GODLY AND CONSCIENTIOUS READER,

It is a great part of the happiness of heaven, that the saints in celestial glory are and shall be all of one mind; and it is not unprobably gathered by the learned, that when "the Lord shall be one, and his name one," there shall be a joint concurrence of the saints in and about the matters of God. In the mean time, it is no small grief to every modest, moderate-minded Christian, to see such discord among the best of saints; whereas if the ground of the difference were sometimes well scanned, it would appear to be more in circumstance than in substance, more nominal, or respecting names or abusive names given, than in substantial realities. Rev. Mr. Manton, in his sermon before the honorable House of Commons, saith, "The devil getteth great advantages by names amongst Christians, as Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Independents, inventing," saith he, "either such as may tend to contempt or derision, as of old Christians, of late Puritans, or to tumult and division, as those names amongst us, under which the members of Christ sadly gather into bodies and parties."

Let me add hereunto, that the mischief of this also appeared when light sprung out of [the] darkness of Popery. Then the godly were forced to sustain the name of Puritans and the nickname of Brownists, so as many of the godly in

our nation lay in obscurity under contempt of those names;* and afterwards, as light appeared, notwithstanding became one in the profession and practice of the truth respecting the kingly office of Christ, wherein they seemingly differed but a little before, both in New England and in Old England; but yet so as some estrangedness remains amongst those, although that in the main and substance of things they are of one mind, and with oneness of heart and mouth do serve the Lord, and do agree in and about the matters of the kingdom of Christ on earth. Yea, and I doubt not but some such of them as were of the eminentest on both sides, who are now departed this life, do agree and have sweet communion with each other in their more nobler part in glory.

I have lately met with a plain, well composed, and useful Dialogue, penned by that honored pattern of piety, William Bradford, Esq. late Governor of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth Colony, which occasionally treats something of this matter, together with and in defence of such as I may without just offence term martyrs† of Jesus, and in defence of the cause they suffered for; it being no other in effect but what our church and the churches of Christ in New England do both profess and practise. I will not defend, neither doth he, all the words that might fall from those blessed souls in defence of the truth, who suffered so bitterly as they did from such as erewhile (if I mistake not) were forced to fly into Germany for the cause of God in Queen Mary's days, and returned again in the happy reign of Queen Elizabeth, and turned prelates and bitter persecutors. This thing considered, and other things also, if some passages that fell from them might have been spared, yet in many things we all offend, and "oppression will make a wise man mad," saith Solomon. Such circumstantial

* These differences were partly blown up amongst these Christians by the names of Brownist and Puritans. — *Morton's Note.*

† Mr. Henry Barrow, Mr. John Greenwood, Mr. John Penry, Mr. William Dennis, [Mr. John] Coping, and Elias [Thacker] and several others that suffered much, though not put to death. — *Morton's Note.*

weakness will not unsaint a Christian, nor render him no martyr, if his cause be good, as you will find it to be by the perusing of this Dialogue, I doubt not; but let it speak for itself.

Gentle reader, I hope thou wilt obtain a clear resolution about divers things, whereof possibly thou wert in doubt of formerly respecting the premises; in the transcribing whereof I have taken the best care I could to prevent offence and to procure acceptance. If any good comes thereof, let God have all the praise.

GOV. BRADFORD'S DIALOGUE.

A DIALOGUE, OR THE SUM OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN SOME
YOUNG MEN BORN IN NEW ENGLAND AND SUNDRY ANCIENT
MEN THAT CAME OUT OF HOLLAND AND OLD ENGLAND, [WRIT-
TEN] ANNO DOMINI 1648.

YOUNG MEN.

GENTLEMEN, you were pleased to appoint us this time to confer with you, and to propound such questions as might give us satisfaction in some things wherein we are ignorant, or at least further light to some things that are more obscure unto us. Our first request, therefore, is, to know your minds concerning the true and simple meaning of those of *The Separation*, as they are termed, when they say the Church of England is no Church, or no true Church.

ANCIENT MEN.

For answer hereunto, first, you must know that they speak of it as it then was under the hierarchical prelacy, which since have been put down by the State, and not as it is now unsettled.

2. They nowhere say, that we remember, that they are no Church. At least, they are not so to be understood; for they often say the contrary.

3. When they say it is no true Church of Christ, they do not at all mean as they are the elect of God, or a part of the Catholic Church, or of the mystical body of Christ, or visible Christians professing faith and holiness, (as most men understand the church); for which purpose hear what Mr. Robinson in his Apology, page 53. "If by the Church," saith he, "be understood the Catholic Church, dispersed upon the face of the whole earth, we do willingly acknowledge that a singular part thereof, and the same visible and conspicuous, is to be found in the land, and with it do profess and practise, what in us lies, communion in all things in themselves lawful, and done in right order."

4. Therefore they mean it is not a true church as it is a National Church, combined together of all in the land promiscuously under the hierarchical government of archbishops, their courts and canons, so far differing from the primitive pattern in the Gospel.

YOUNG MEN.

Wherein do they differ then from the judgment or practice of our churches here in New England?

ANCIENT MEN.

Truly, for matter of practice, nothing at all that is in any thing material; these being rather more strict and rigid in some proceedings about admission of members, and things of such nature, than the other; and for matter of judgment, it is more, as we conceive, in words and terms, than matter of any great substance; for the churches and chief of the ministers here hold that the National Church, so constituted and governed as before is said, is not allowable according to the primitive order of the Gospel; but that there are some parish assemblies that are true churches by virtue of an implicit covenant amongst themselves, in which regard the Church of England may be held and called a true church.

Where any such are evident, we suppose the other will not

disagree about an implicit covenant, if they mean by an implicit covenant that which hath the substance of a covenant in it some way discernible, though it be not so formal or orderly as it should be. But such an implicit as is no way explicit, is no better than a Popish implicit faith, (as some of us conceive,) and a mere fiction, or as that which should be a marriage covenant which is no way explicit.

YOUNG MEN.

Wherein standeth the difference between the rigid Brownists and Separatists and others, as we observe our ministers in their writings and sermons to distinguish them?

ANCIENT MEN.

The name of Brownists is but a nickname, as Puritan and Huguenot, etc., and therefore they do not amiss to decline the odium of it in what they may. But by the rigidness of Separation they do not so much mean the difference, for our churches here in New England do the same thing under the name of *secession* from the corruptions found amongst them, as the other did under the name or term of *separation* from them. Only this declines the odium the better. See Reverend Mr. Cotton's Answer to Mr. Baylie, page the 14th.

That some which were termed Separatists, out of some mistake and heat of zeal, forbore communion in lawful things with other godly persons, as prayer and hearing of the word, may be seen in what that worthy man, Mr. Robinson, hath published in dislike thereof.

YOUNG MEN.

We are well satisfied in what you have said. But they differ also about synods.

ANCIENT MEN.

It is true we do not know that ever they had any solemn Synodical Assembly. And the reason may be, that those in England living dispersed and could not meet in their ordinary meetings without danger, much less in synods. Neither in Holland, where they might have more liberty, were they of any considerable number, being but those two churches, that of Amsterdam and that of Leyden. Yet some of us know that the church [of Leyden] sent messengers to those of Amsterdam, at the request of some of the chief of them, both elders and brethren, when in their dissensions they had deposed Mr. Ainsworth and some other both of their elders and brethren, Mr. Robinson being the chief of the messengers sent; which had that good effect, as that they revoked the said deposition, and confessed their rashness and error, and lived together in peace some good time after. But when the churches want neither peace nor light to exercise the power which the Lord hath given them, Christ doth not direct them to gather into synods or classical meetings, for removing of known offences either in doctrine or manners; but only sendeth to the pastors or presbyters of each church to reform within themselves what is amongst them. "A plain pattern," saith Mr. Cotton in his Answer to Mr. Baylie, page 95, "in case of public offences tolerated in neighbor churches, not forthwith to gather into a synod or classical meeting, for redress thereof, but by letters and messengers to admonish one another of what is behooveful; unless upon such admonition they refuse to hearken to the wholesome counsel of their brethren." And of this matter Mr. Robinson thus writeth in his book, *Just.* page 200, "The officers of one or many churches may meet together to discuss and consider of matters for the good of the church or churches, and so be called a Church Synod, or the like, so they infringe no order of Christ or liberty of the brethren;" not differing herein from Mr. Davenport and the principal of our ministers.

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YOUNG MEN.

But they seem to differ about the exercise of prophecy, that is, that men out of office, having gifts, may upon occasion edify the church publicly and openly, and applying the Scriptures; which seems to be a new practice.

ANCIENT MEN.

It doth but seem so; as many things else do that have by usurpation grown out of use. But that it hath been an ancient practice of the people of God, besides the grounds of Scripture, we will give an instance or two. We find in the ancient Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. vi. cap. 19, how Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, being pricked with envy against Origen, complaineth in his letters that there was never such a practice heard of, nor no precedent to be found that laymen in presence of bishops have taught in the church; but is thus answered by the bishop of Jerusalem and the bishop of Cesarea: "We know not," say they, "why he reporteth a manifest untruth, when as there may be found such as in open assemblies have taught the people; yea, when as there were present learned men that could profit the people, and moreover holy bishops, who at that time exhorted them to preach. For example, at Laranda Euelpis was requested of Neon, at Iconium Paulinus was requested by Celsus, at Synada Theodorus was requested by Atticus, who were godly brethren, etc."*

The second instance is out of Speed's Cloud of Witnesses, page 71. Saith he, "Rambam or Maymon records, that in the synagogues, first, only a Levite must offer sacrifice; secondly, but any in Israel might expound the law; thirdly,

* See Doctor Fulke also on Romans the xi. in answer to the Rhemists. — *Bradford's Note.*

the expounder must be an eminent man, and must have leave from the master of the synagogue; and so contends that Christ, Luke iv. 16, taught as any of Israel might have done as well as the Levites; and the like did Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 15."

If any out of weakness have abused at any time their liberty, it is their personal faulting, as sometimes weak ministers may their office, and yet the ordinance good and lawful.

And the chief of our ministers in New England agree therein. See Mr. Cotton's Answer to Baylie, page the 27th, 2d part. "Though neither all," saith he, "nor most of the brethren of a church have ordinarily received a gift of public prophesying, or preaching, yet in defect of public ministry, it is not an unheard of novelty that God should enlarge private men with public gifts, and to dispense them to edification; for we read that when the church at Jerusalem were all scattered abroad, except the Apostles, yet they that were scattered went everywhere preaching the word." Acts viii. 4; xi. 19; xx. 21.

Mr. Robinson also, in his Apology, page 55, chapter 8, to take off the aspersion charged on them, as if all the members of a church were to prophesy publicly, answers, "It comes within the compass but of a few of the multitude, haply two or three in a church, so to do; and touching prophecy," saith he, "we think the very same that the Synod held at Embden, 1571, hath decreed in these words: 'First, in all churches, whether but springing up, or grown to some ripeness, let the order of prophecy be observed, according to Paul's institution. Secondly, into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted not only the ministers, but the teachers too, as also of the elders and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, which are willing to confer their gift received of God to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed by the judgment of the ministers and others.' So we believe and practice with the Belgic churches, etc." See more in the immediate following page.

GOV. BRADFORD'S DIALOGUE.

YOUNG MEN.

We cannot but marvel that in so few years there should be so great a change, that they who were so hotly persecuted by the prelates, and also opposed by the better sort of ministers, not only Mr. Gifford, Mr. Bernard, and other such like, but many of the most eminent both for learning and godliness, and yet now not only these famous men and churches in New England so fully to close with them in practice, but all the godly party in the land to stand for the same way, under the new name of Independents, put upon them.

ANCIENT MEN.

It is the Lord's doing, and it ought to be marvellous in our eyes; and the rather, because Mr. Bernard, in his book, made their small increase in a few years one and the chief argument against the way itself. To which Mr. Robinson answered, that "Religion is not always sown and reaped in one age; and that John Huss and Jerome of Prague finished their testimony a hundred years before Luther, and Wickliff, well-nigh as long before them, and yet neither the one nor the other with the like success as Luther. And yet," saith he, "many are already gathered into the kingdom of Christ; and the nearness of many more throughout the whole land, (for the regions are white unto the harvest,) doth promise within less than a hundred years, if our sins and theirs make not us and them unworthy of this mercy, a very plenteous harvest;" (*Justif.* folio 62); as if he had prophesied of these times. Yea, some of us have often heard him say that "even those ministers and other godly persons that did then most sharply oppose them, if they might come to be from under the bishops, and live in a place of rest and peace, where they might comfortably subsist, they would practice the same things which they now did." And truly, many of us have seen this abundantly verified, not only in these latter times, but formerly.

Dr. Ames* was estranged from and opposed Mr. Robinson; and yet afterwards there was loving compliance and near agreement between them; and, which is more strange, Mr. Johnson himself, who was afterwards pastor of the church of God at Amsterdam, was a preacher to the company of English of the Staple at Middleburg, in Zealand, and had great and certain maintenance† allowed him by them, and was highly respected of them, and so zealous against this way as that [when] Mr. Barrow's and Mr. Greenwood's Refutation of Gifford was privately in printing in this city, he not only was a means to discover it, but was made the ambassador's instrument to intercept them at the press, and see them burnt; the which charge he did so well perform, as he let them go on until they were wholly finished, and then surprised the whole impression, not suffering any to escape; and then, by the magistrates' authority, caused them all to be openly burnt, himself standing by until they were all consumed to ashes. Only he took up two of them, one to keep in his own study, that he might see their errors, and the other to bestow on a special friend for the like use. But mark the sequel. When he had done this work, he went home, and being set down in his study, he began to turn over some pages of this book, and superficially to read some things here and there as his fancy led him. At length he met with something that began to work upon his spirit, which so wrought with him as drew him to this resolution, seriously to read over the whole book; the which he did once and again. In the end he was so taken, and his conscience was troubled so, as he could have no rest in himself until he crossed the seas and came to London to confer with the authors, who were then in prison, and shortly after executed. After which conference he was so satisfied

* William Ames was one of the most acute controversial writers of his age. He fled from persecution in 1609, was Theological Professor at Franeker for twelve years, was a member of the Synod of Dort, and wrote several Treatises besides his *Medulla Theologiæ*. He designed to come to New England, but died in 1633.

† £200 per annum. — *Bradford's Note*.

and confirmed in the truth, as he never returned to his place any more at Middleburg, but adjoined himself to their society at London, and was afterwards committed to prison, and then banished; and in conclusion coming to live at Amsterdam, he caused the same books, which he had been an instrument to burn, to be new printed and set out at his own charge. And some of us here present testify this to be a true relation, which we heard from his own mouth before many witnesses.

YOUNG MEN.

We have seen a book of Mr. Robert Baylie's, a Scotchman, wherein he seemeth to take notice of the spreading of the truth under the notion of error, and casts all the disgraces he can on it, and ranks it with others the foulest errors of the time, and endeavors to show how like a small spark it revived out of the ashes, and was brought from Leyden over the seas into New England, and there nourished with much silence until it spread to other places in the country, and by eminent hands from thence into Old England.

ANCIENT MEN.

As we dare say Mr. Baylie intends no honor to the persons by what he says, either to those here or from whence they came, so are they far from seeking any to themselves, but rather are ashamed that their weak working hath brought no more glory to God; and if in any thing God hath made any of them instruments for the good of his people in any measure, they desire he only may have the glory. And whereas Mr. Baylie affirmeth that, however it was, in a few years the most who settled in the land did agree to model themselves after Mr. Robinson's pattern, we agree with reverend Mr. Cotton, that, "there was no agreement by any solemn or common consultation; but that it is true they did, as if they had agreed, by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up, by the

help of Christ, the same model of churches, one like to another; and if they of Plymouth have helped any of the first comers in their theory, by hearing and discerning their practices, therein the Scripture is fulfilled that the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until all was leavened." Matth. xiii.

33. Answer to Mr. Baylie, page 17.

YOUNG MEN.

We desire to know how many have been put to death for this cause, and what manner of persons they were, and what occasions were taken against them by bringing them to their end.

ANCIENT MEN.

We know certainly of six that were publicly executed, besides such as died in prisons; Mr. Henry Barrow, Mr. Greenwood, (these suffered at Tyburn); Mr. Penry at St. Thomas Waterings, by London; Mr. William Dennis at Thetford, in Norfolk; two others at St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, whose names were Copping and Elias [Thacker.] These two last mentioned were condemned by cruel Judge Popham, whose countenance and carriage was very rough and severe toward them, with many sharp menaces. But God gave them courage to bear it, and to make this answer: —

"My Lord, your face we fear not,
And for your threats we care not,
And to come to your read service, we dare not."

These two last named were put to death for dispersing of books.

For Mr. Dennis, he was a godly man, and faithful in his place; but what occasion was taken against him, we know not, more than the common cause.

For Mr. Penry, how unjustly he was charged, himself hath made manifest to the world in his books, and that declaration

which he made a little before his sufferings; all which are extant in print, with some of his godly letters.*

As for Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood, it also appears by their own writings how those statutes formerly made against the Papists were wrested against them, and they condemned thereupon; as may be seen by their examinations.

YOUNG MEN.

But these were rigid Brownists, and lie under much aspersion, and their names much blemished and beclouded, not only by enemies, but even by godly and very reverend men.

ANCIENT MEN.

They can no more justly be called Brownists, than the disciples might have been called Judasites; for they did as much abhor Brown's apostasy, and profane course, and his defection, as the disciples and other Christians did Judas's treachery.

And for their rigid and roughness of spirit, as some of them, especially Mr. Barrow, is taxed, it may be considered they were very rigidly and roughly dealt with, not only by the Lord's enemies and their enemies, but by some godly persons of those times, differing in opinions from them; which makes some of us call to mind what one Dr. Taylor hath written in a late book in these stirring times. "Such an eminent man," saith he, "hath had the good hap to be reputed orthodox by posterity, and did condemn such a man of such an opinion, and yet himself erred in as considerable matters; but meeting with better neighbors in his lifetime, and a more charitable posterity after his death, hath his memory preserved in honor; and the other's name suffers without cause." Of which he gives instances in his book entitled *The Liberty of Prophecy*, page 33 and following.

We refer you to Mr. Robinson's Answer to Mr. Bernard,

* See Memoir of Penry, just published by the Cong. Board of Publication.

where he charges him with blasphemy, railing, scoffing, etc. "For Mr. Barrow," saith Mr. Robinson, "as I say with Mr. Ainsworth, that I will not justify all the words of another man, nor yet mine own, so say I also with Mr. Smith, that because I know not by what particular motion of the spirit he was guided to write in those phrases, I dare not censure him as you do; especially considering with what fiery zeal the Lord hath furnished such his servants at all times, as he hath stirred up for special reformation. Let the example of Luther alone suffice, whom into what terms his zeal carried, his writings testify; and yet both in him and in Mr. Barrow there might be with true spiritual zeal fleshly indignation mingled." Answer to Mr. Bernard, folio 84.

And further in page 86 he saith, that "such harsh terms wherewith he entertains such persons and things in the church as carry with them most appearance of holiness, they are to be interpreted according to his meaning, with this distinction, that Mr. Barrow speaks not of these persons and things simply, but in a respect, and so and so considered; and so no one term given by Mr. Barrow but may, at the least, be tolerated."

YOUNG MEN.

But divers reverend men have expressed concerning this matter that God is not wont to make choice of men infamous for gross sins and vices before their calling, to make them any instruments of reformation after their calling, and proceed to declare that Mr. Barrow was a great gamester and a dicer when he lived in court, and getting much by play, would boast of loose spending it with courtesans, etc.

ANCIENT MEN.

Truly, with due respect to such reverend men be it spoken, those things might well have been spared from putting in print, especially so long after his death, when not only he, but all his friends are taken out of the world that might vindicate his name. That he was tainted with vices at the court be-

fore his conversion and calling, it is not very strange; and if he had lived and died in that condition, it is like he might have gone out of the world without any public brand on his name, and have passed for a tolerable Christian and member of the church. He had hurt enough done him, whilst he lived, by evil and cruel enemies; why should godly men be prejudicated to him after his death in his name? Was not the Apostle Paul a persecutor of God's saints unto death? And doth not the same Apostle, speaking of scandalous and lascivious persons, say, "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the spirit of our God." 1 Cor. vi. 11.

And if histories deceive us not, was not Cyprian a magician before his conversion, and Augustine a Manichæan? And when it was said unto him in the voice he heard, *Tolle et lege*, he was directed to that place of Scripture, "Not in gluttony and drunkenness, nor in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of it." By which it may seem that if God do not make choice of such men as have been infamous for gross vices before their calling, yet sometimes he is wont to do it, and is free to choose whom he pleaseth for notable instruments for his own work. As for other things that have been spoken of him and Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Penry, we leave them as they are. But some of us have reason to think there are some mistakes in the relations of those things. Only we shall add other public testimonies concerning them from witnesses of very worthy credit, which are also in print.

First, from Mr. Phillips. A famous and godly preacher, having heard and seen Mr. Barrow's holy speeches and preparations for death, said, "Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine!" The same author also reports, that Queen Elizabeth asked learned Dr. Reynolds what he thought of those two men, Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood; and he answered her Majesty that it could not avail any thing to show his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death; and being loath to speak his mind further, her Majesty charged

him upon his allegiance to speak. Whereupon he answered, that he was persuaded if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God, as have been raised up in this age. Her Majesty sighed, and said no more. But after that, riding to a park by the place where they were executed, and being willing to take further information concerning them, demanded of the right honorable the Earl of Cumberland, that was present when they suffered, what end they made. He answered, "a very godly end, and prayed for your Majesty, and the State," etc. We may also add what some of us have heard by credible information, that the Queen demanded of the Archbishop what he thought of them in his conscience. He answered, "he thought they were the servants of God, but dangerous to the State." "Alas!" said she, "shall we put the servants of God to death?" And this was the true cause why no more of them were put to death in her days.]

YOUNG MEN.

Did any of you know Mr. Barrow? if we may be so bold to ask, for we would willingly know what [was] his life and conversation; because some, we perceive, have him in precious esteem, and others can scarce name him without some note of obloquy and dislike.

ANCIENT MEN.

We have not seen his person; but some of us have been well acquainted with those that knew him familiarly both before and after his conversion; and one of us hath had conference with one that was his domestic servant, and tended upon him both before and some while after the same.

He was a gentleman of good worth, and a flourishing courtier in his time, and, as appears in his own answers to the Archbishop and Dr. Cousens, he was some time a student at Cambridge and the Inns of Court, and accomplished with strong parts.

We have heard his conversion to be on this wise. Walking in London one Lord's day with one of his companions, he heard a preacher at his sermon very loud, as they passed by the church. Upon which Mr. Barrow said unto his consort, "Let us go in and hear what this man saith that is thus earnest." "Tush," saith the other, "what! shall we go to hear a man talk?" etc. But in he went and sat down. And the minister was vehement in reproving sin, and sharply applied the judgments of God against the same; and, it should seem, touched him to the quick in such things as he was guilty of, so as God set it home to his soul, and began to work his repentance and conversion thereby. For he was so stricken as he could not be quiet, until by conference with godly men and further hearing of the word, with diligent reading and meditation, God brought peace to his soul and conscience, after much humiliation of heart and reformation of life; so as he left the court, and retired himself to a private life, sometime in the country and sometime in the city, giving himself to study and reading of the Scriptures and other good works very diligently. And being missed at court by his consorts and acquaintance, it was quickly bruited abroad that Barrow was turned Puritan. What his course was afterwards, his writings show, as also his sufferings and conference with men of all sorts do declare, until his life was taken from him.

And thus much we can further affirm, from those that well knew him, that he was very comfortable to the poor and those in distress in their sufferings; and when he saw he must die, he gave a stock for the relief of the poor of the church, which was a good help to them in their banished condition afterwards. Yea, and that which some will hardly believe, he did much persuade them to peace, and composed many differences that were grown amongst them whilst he lived, and would have, it is like, prevented more that after fell out, if he had continued.

YOUNG MEN.

We thank you for your pains. We hope it will extend further than our satisfaction. We cannot but marvel that such a man should be by so many aspersed.

ANCIENT MEN.

It is not much to be marvelled at; for he was most plain in discovering the cruelty, fraud, and hypocrisy of the enemies of the truth, and searching into the corruptions of the time, which made him abhorred of them; and peradventure something too harsh against the haltings of divers of the preachers and professors that he had to deal with in those times, who out of fear or weakness did not come so close up to the truth in their practice as their doctrines and grounds seemed to hold forth. Which makes us remember what was the answer of Erasmus to the Duke of Saxony, when he asked his opinion whether Luther had erred. He answered, "his opinions were good, but wished he would moderate his style, which stirred him up the more enemies, no doubt."

YOUNG MEN.

We find in the writings of some such who were very eminent in their times for piety and learning, that those of the Separation* found more favor in our native country than those who were reproached by the name of Puritans; and after much discourse thereabouts, come to this conclusion, that no comparison will hold from the Separatists to them in their sufferings but *a minori*; and then they go on and say what a compulsory banishment has been put upon those blessed and glorious lights, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Parker, Dr. Ames, etc.

* For an account of the difference between the Puritans and the Separatists, see Prince's Annals, pp. 302-305.

ANCIENT MEN.

Far be it from any of us to detract from or to extenuate the sufferings of any of the servants of God, much less from those worthies forenamed, or any others afterwards mentioned. Yet, under favor, we crave pardon if we cannot consent to the judgment of such eminent ones for piety and learning above hinted. We doubt not, but do easily grant, that the sufferings of those reproached by the name of Puritans were great, especially some of them, and were better known to those pious and learned [men] first above intimated, than the sufferings of those that are reproached by the name of Brownists and Separatists. But we shall give you some instances, and leave it to you and some others to consider of.

1. Though no more were publicly executed, yet sundry more were condemned, and brought to the gallows, and ascended the ladder, not knowing but they should die, and have been reprieved, and after banished; some of which we have known and often spoken with.

2. Others have not only been forced into voluntary banishment, by great numbers, to avoid further cruelty, but divers, after long and sore imprisonment, have been forced to abjure the land by oath, never to return without leave. In anno 1604 four persons at once were forced to do so at a public Sessions in London, or else upon refusal they were to be hanged. This their abjuration was done on the statute of the 35 of Queen Elizabeth. Some of these we have also known.

3. We find mention in a printed book of seventeen or eighteen that have died in several prisons in London in six years' time before the year 1592, besides what have been in other parts of the land, and since that time, perishing by cold, hunger, or noisomeness of the prison.

4. In the same year we find a lamentable petition, now in print, of sixty persons committed unbailable to several prisons in London, as Newgate, the Gatehouse, Clink, etc., being made close prisoners, allowing them neither meat, drink, nor

lodging, nor suffering any whose hearts the Lord would stir up for their relief, to have any access unto them; so as they complain that no felons, traitors, nor murderers in the land were thus dealt with; and so after many other grievous complaints conclude with these words: "We crave for all of us but the liberty either to die openly, or to live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it beseemeth the majesty of justice not to see us closely murdered, yea starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons. If we be guiltless, we crave but the benefit of our innocence, viz. that we may have peace to serve our God and our Prince in the place of the sepulchres of our fathers."

And what number since those, who have been put unto compulsory banishment and other hard sufferings, as loss of goods, friends, and long and hard imprisonments, under which many have died,—it is so well known, that it would make up a volume to rehearse them, and would not only equalize but far exceed the number of those godly called Puritans that have suffered. Suppose they were but few of them ministers that suffered, as above expressed; yet their sorrows might be as great, and their wants more, and their souls as much afflicted, because more contemned and neglected of men.

But some have said *they* were excommunicated; and that was no great matter as excommunications went in those days. So were *these*, not only while they were living, but some of them many times after they were dead; and as some of the other were imprisoned, so were more of these. But it is further said, all of them were deprived of their ministry; and so were these of their livelihood and maintenance, although they had no offices to lose. But those remained still in the land, and were succoured and sheltered by good people in a competent wise, the most of them, and sundry of them lived as well, as may easily be proved, if not better, than if they had enjoyed their benefices; whereas the other were, a great number of them, forced to fly into foreign lands for shelter, or else might have perished in prisons; and these poor creatures endured, many of them, such hardships (as is well known to some of us) as makes our hearts still ache to remember.

We some of us knew Mr. Parker, Doctor Ames, and Mr. Jacob * in Holland, when they sojourned for a time in Leyden; and all three boarded together and had their victuals dressed by some of our acquaintance, and then they lived comfortable, and then they were provided for as became their persons. And after Mr. Jacob returned, and Mr. Parker was at Amsterdam, where he printed some of his books, and Mr. Ames disposed of himself to other places, it was not worse with him; and some of us well know how it fared then with many precious Christians in divers times and places. To speak the truth, the professors in England, though many of them suffered much at the hands of the prelates, yet they had a great advantage of the Separatists; for the Separatists had not only the prelates and their faction to encounter with, (and what hard measure they met with at their hands, above the other, doth sufficiently appear by what is before declared,) but also they must endure the frowns, and many times the sharp invectives, of the forward ministers against them, both in public and private; and what influence they had upon the spirits of the people, is well enough known also; by reason hereof the ministers in foreign countries did look awry at them when they would give help and countenance to the other.

YOUNG MEN.

Indeed, it seems they have sometimes suffered much hardness in the Low Countries, if that be true that is reported of such a man as Mr. Ainsworth, that he should live for some time with nine pence a week. To which is replied by another, that if people suffered him to live on ninepence a week, with roots boiled, either the people were grown extreme low in estate, or the growth of their godliness was come to a very low ebb.

* See Appendix — Congregationalism in England.

ANCIENT MEN.

The truth is, their condition for the most part was for some time very low and hard. It was with them as, if it should be related, would hardly be believed. And no marvel. For many of them had lain long in prisons, and then were banished into Newfoundland, where they were abused, and at last came into the Low Countries, and wanting money, trades, friends, or acquaintances, and languages to help themselves, how could it be otherwise? The report of Mr. Ainsworth was near those times, when he was newly come out of Ireland with others poor, and being a single young man and very studious, was content with a little. And yet, to take off the aspersion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reason thereof is mistaken; for he was a very modest and bashful man, and concealed his wants from others, until some suspected how it was with him, and pressed him to see how it was; and after it was known, such as were able mended his condition; and when he was married afterwards, he and his family were comfortably provided for. But we have said enough of these things. They had few friends to comfort them, nor any arm of flesh to support them; and if in some things they were too rigid, they are rather to be pitied, considering their times and sufferings, than to be blasted with reproach to posterity.

YOUNG MEN.

Was that Brown that fell away and made apostasy, the first inventor and beginner of this way?

ANCIENT MEN.

No, verily; for, as one answers this question very well in a printed book, almost forty years ago, that the prophets, apostles, and evangelists have in their authentic writings laid down the ground thereof; and upon that ground is their

building reared up and surely settled. Moreover, many of the martyrs, both former and latter, have maintained it, as is to be seen in The Acts and Monuments of the Church. Also, in the days of Queen Elizabeth there was a separated church, whereof Mr. Fitts was pastor, and another before that in the time of Queen Mary, of which Mr. Rough was pastor or teacher, and Cudbert Simpson a deacon, who exercised amongst themselves, as other ordinances, so church censures, as excommunication, etc., and professed and practised that cause before Mr. Brown wrote for it. But he being one that afterwards wrote for it, they that first hatched the name of Puritans and bestowed it on the godly professors that desired reformation, they likewise out of the same storehouse would needs bestow this new livery upon others that never would own it, nor had reason so to do. Mr. Cotton, likewise, in his Answer to Mr. Baylie, page fourth, shows how in the year 1567 there were a hundred persons who refused the common liturgy, and the congregations attending thereunto, and used prayers and preaching and the sacraments amongst themselves, whereof fourteen or fifteen were sent to prison, of whom the chiefest were Mr. Smith, Mr. Nixon, James Ireland, Robert Hawkins, Thomas Rowland, and Richard Morecroft; and these pleaded their separation before the Lord Mayor, Bishop Sands, and other commissioners on June 20, 1567, about eighty years ago, being many years before Brown. Divers other instances might be given.

YOUNG MEN.

But if we mistake not, Mr. Brown is accounted by some of good note to be the inventor of that way which is called Brownism, from whom the sect took its name. Moreover, it is said by such of note as aforesaid, that it is not God's usual manner of dealing to leave any of the first publishers or restorers of any truth of his to such fearful apostasy.

ANCIENT MEN.

Possibly this speech might arise from a common received opinion. But reverend Mr. Cotton, in his answer to Mr. Baylie, saith, "the backsliding of Brown from that way of Separation is a just reason why the Separatists may disclaim denomination from him, and refuse to be called Brownists, after his name; and to speak with reason," saith he, "if any be justly to be called Brownists, it is only such as revolt from Separation to formality, and from thence to profaneness." Page 5.

To which we may add, that it is very injurious to call those after his name, whose person they never knew, and whose writings few if any of them ever saw, and whose errors and backslidings they have constantly borne witness against; and what truths they have received have been from the light of God's sacred word, conveyed by other godly instruments unto them; though Brown may sometimes have professed some of the same things, and now fallen from the same, as many others have done.

YOUNG MEN.

Seeing we have presumed thus far to inquire into these ancients times of you, and of the sufferings of the aforesaid persons, we would likewise entreat you, though never so briefly, to tell us something of the persons and carriages of other eminent men about those times, or immediately after, as Mr. Francis Johnson, Mr. Henry Ainsworth, Mr. John Smith, Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Richard Clifton.

ANCIENT MEN.

Here are some in the company that knew them all familiarly, whom we shall desire to satisfy your request.

Those answered, We shall do it most willingly; for we cannot but honor the memory of the men for the good that

not only many others but we ourselves have received by them and their ministry ; for we have heard them all, and lived under the ministry of divers of them for some years. We shall therefore speak of them in order briefly.

MR. JOHNSON,

Of whom something was spoken before, was pastor of the church of God at Amsterdam. A very grave man he was, and an able teacher, and was the most solemn in all his administrations that we have seen any, and especially in dispensing the seals of the covenant, both baptism and the Lord's supper. And a good disputant he was. We heard Mr. Smith upon occasion say, that he was persuaded no men living were able to maintain a cause against those two men, meaning Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, if they had not the truth on their side. He, by reason of many dissensions that fell out in the church, and the subtilty of one of the elders of the same, came after many years to alter his judgment about the government of the church, and his practice thereupon, which caused a division among them. But he lived not many years after, and died at Amsterdam after his return from Embden.

YOUNG MEN.

But he is much spoken against for excommunicating his brother and his own father, and maintaining his wife's cause, who was by his brother and others reproved for her pride in apparel.

ANCIENT MEN.

Himself hath often made his own defence, and others for him. The church did, after long patience towards them and much pains taken with them, excommunicate them for their unreasonable and endless opposition, and such things as did accompany the same ; and such was the justice thereof, as he could not but consent thereto. In our time his wife was a grave matron, and very modest both in her apparel and all

her demeanor, ready to any good works in her place, and helpful to many, especially the poor, and an ornament to his calling. She was a young widow when he married her, and had been a merchant's wife, by whom he had a good estate, and was a godly woman; and because she wore such apparel as she had been formerly used to, which were neither excessive nor immodest, for their chiefest exceptions were against her wearing of some whalebone in the bodice and sleeves of her gown, corked shoes, and other such like things as the citizens of her rank then used to wear. And although, for offence sake, she and he were willing to reform the fashions of them so far as might be without spoiling of their garments, yet it would not content them except they came full up to their size. Such was the strictness or rigidity (as now the term goes) of some in those times, as we can by experience and of our own knowledge show in other instances. We shall for brevity sake only show one.

We were in the company of a godly man that had been a long time prisoner at Norwich for this cause, and was by Judge Cooke set at liberty. After going into the country he visited his friends, and returning that way again to go into the Low Countries by ship at Yarmouth, and so desired some of us to turn in with him to the house of an ancient woman in the city, who had been very kind and helpful to him in his sufferings. She knowing his voice made him very welcome, and those with him. But after some time of their entertainment, being ready to depart, she came up to him and felt of his band, (for her eyes were dim with age,) and perceiving it was something stiffened with starch, she was much displeased, and reproved him very sharply, fearing God would not prosper his journey. Yet the man was a plain countryman, clad in grey russet, without either welt or guard, (as the proverb is,) and the band he wore scarce worth threepence, made of their own homespinning; and he was godly and humble as he was plain. What would such professors, if they were now living, say to the excess of our times?

MR. HENRY AINSWORTH,

A man of a thousand, was teacher of this church at Amsterdam at the same time when Mr. Johnson was pastor. Two worthy men they were and of excellent parts. He continued constant in his judgment and practice unto his end in those things about the church government, from which Mr. Johnson swerved and fell. He ever maintained good correspondence with Mr. Robinson at Leyden, and would consult with him in all matters of weight, both in their differences and afterwards. A very learned man he was, and a close student, which much impaired his health. We have heard some, eminent in the knowledge of the tongues, of the university of Leyden, say that they thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the university, nor scarce in Europe. He was a man very modest, amiable, and sociable in his ordinary course and carriage, of an innocent and unblamable life and conversation, of a meek spirit, and a calm temper, void of passion, and not easily provoked. And yet he would be something smart in his style to his opposers in his public writings; at which we that have seen his constant carriage, both in public disputes and the managing of all church affairs, and such like occurrences, have sometimes marvelled. He had an excellent gift of teaching and opening the Scriptures: and things did flow from him with that facility, plainness, and sweetness, as did much affect the hearers. He was powerful and profound in doctrine, although his voice was not strong; and had this excellency above many, that he was most ready and pregnant in the Scriptures, as if the book of God had been written in his heart; being' as ready in his quotations, without tossing and turning his book, as if they had lain open before his eyes, and seldom missing a word in the citing of any place, teaching not only the word and doctrine of God, but in the words of God, and for the most part in a continued phrase and words of Scripture. He used great dexterity, and was ready in comparing Scripture with Scripture,

one with another. In a word, the times and place in which he lived were not worthy of such a man.

YOUNG MEN.

But we find that he is taxed, in a book writ by George Johnson, with apostasy and to be a man-pleaser, etc.

ANCIENT MEN.

Who can escape the scourge of tongues? Christ himself could not do it when he was here upon earth, although there was no guile found in his mouth; nor Moses, although he was the meekest man in the earth. For man-pleasing, they that tax him [do it] because he concurred against their violent and endless dissensions about the former matters. And for his apostasy, this was all the matter. When he was a young man, before he came out of England, he at the persuasion of some of his godly friends went once or twice to hear a godly minister preach; and this was the great matter of apostasy, for which those violent men thought him worthy to be deposed from his place, and for which they thus charge him. And truly herein they may worthily bear the name of rigid, etc.

MR. JOHN SMITH

Was an eminent man in his time, and a good preacher, and of other good parts; but his inconstancy, and unstable judgment, and being so suddenly carried away with things, did soon overthrow him. Yet we have some of us heard him use this speech: "Truly," said he, "we being now come into a place of liberty, are in great danger, if we look not well to our ways; for we are like men set upon the ice, and therefore may easily slide and fall." But in this example it appears it is an easier matter to give good counsel than to follow it, to foresee danger than to prevent it: which made the prophet to say, "O Lord, the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps." He was some

time pastor to a company of honest and godly men which came with him out of England, and pitched at Amsterdam. He first fell into some errors about the Scriptures, and so into some opposition with Mr. Johnson, who had been his tutor, and the church there. But he was convinced of them by the pains and faithfulness of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, and revoked them; but afterwards was drawn away by some of the Dutch Anabaptists, who finding him to be a good scholar and unsettled, they easily misled the most of his people, and other of them scattered away. He lived not many years after, but died there of a consumption, to which he was inclined before he came out of England. His and his people's condition may be an object of pity for after times.

MR. JOHN ROBINSON *

Was pastor of that famous church of Leyden, in Holland; a man not easily to be paralleled for all things, whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe. Neither need we, for they so well are known both by friends and enemies. As he was a man learned and of solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than any of the university. He was never satisfied in himself until he had searched any cause or argument he had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom; and we have heard him sometimes say to his familiars that many times, both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others, but many times not himself; and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned,

* See Robinson's Life and Works, published by the Congregational Board of Publication, 3 vols.

and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and revered of all that knew him, and his abilities [were acknowledged] both of friends and strangers. But we resolved to be brief in this matter, leaving you to better and more large information herein from others.

MR. RICHARD CLIFTON

Was a grave and fatherly old man when he came first into Holland, having a great white beard; and pity it was that such a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country, and at those years to go into exile. But it was his lot; and he bore it patiently. Much good had he done in the country where he lived, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry, both in preaching and catechizing. Sound and orthodox he always was, and so continued to his end. He belonged to the church at Leyden; but being settled at Amsterdam, and thus aged, he was loath to remove any more; and so when they removed, he was dismissed to them there, and there remained until he died. Thus have we briefly satisfied your desire.

YOUNG MEN.

We are very thankful to you for your pains. We perceive God raiseth up excellent instruments in all ages to carry on his own work; and the best of men have their failings sometimes, as we see in these our times, and that there is no new thing under the sun. But before we end this matter, we desire you would say something of those two churches that were so long in exile, of whose guides we have already heard.

ANCIENT MEN.

Truly there were in them many worthy men ; and if you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men before named, and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps as their necessity did require ; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons ; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.

And for the church of Leyden, they were sometimes not much fewer in number, nor at all inferior in able men, though they had not so many officers as the other ; for they had but one ruling elder with their pastor, a man well approved and of great integrity ; also they had three able men for deacons. And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love ; and so they continued until with mutual consent they removed into New England. And what their condition hath been since, some of you that are of their children do see and can tell. Many worthy and able men there were in both places, who lived and died in obscurity in respect of the world, as private Christians, yet were they precious in the eyes of the Lord, and also in the eyes of such

as knew them, whose virtues we with such of you as are their children do follow and imitate.

YOUNG MEN.

If we may not be tedious, we would request to know one thing more. It is commonly said that those of the Separation hold none to be true churches but their own, and condemn all the churches in the world besides; which lieth as a foul blot upon them, yea even on some here in New England, except they can remove it.

ANCIENT MEN.

It is a manifest slander laid upon them; for they hold all the Reformed Churches to be true churches, and even the most rigid of them have ever done so, as appears by their Apologies and other writings; and we ourselves some of us know of much intercommunion that divers have held with them reciprocally, not only with the Dutch and French, but even with the Scotch, who are not of the best mould, yea and with the Lutherans also; and we believe they have gone as far herein, both in judgment and practice, as any of the churches in New England do or can do, to deal faithfully and bear witness against their corruptions.

Having thus far satisfied all your demands, we shall here break off this conference for this time, desiring the Lord to make you to grow up in grace and wisdom and the true fear of God, that in all faithfulness and humility you may serve him in your generations.

YOUNG MEN.

Gentlemen, we humbly thank you for your pains with us and respect unto us, and do further crave that upon any fit occasions we may have access unto you for any further information, and herewith do humbly take our leave.

VISITS TO MASSASOIT.

VISITS TO MASSASOIT.

A JOURNEY TO PAKANOKIT, THE HABITATION OF THE GREAT KING MASSASOIT; AS ALSO OUR MESSAGE, THE ANSWER AND ENTERTAINMENT WE HAD OF HIM.*

It seemed good to the company, for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoit, the greatest commander amongst the savages bordering upon us; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the country, prevent abuses in their disorderly coming unto us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us. For these and the like ends, it pleased the governor to make choice of Steven Hopkins and Edward Winslow to go unto him; and having a fit opportunity, by reason of a savage called Tisquantum, that could speak English, coming unto us, with all expedition provided a horseman's coat of red cotton, and laced with a slight lace, for a present, that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them.

The message was as follows: That forasmuch as his subjects came often and without fear upon all occasions amongst

* Written probably by Mr. Winslow.

us, so we were now come unto him; and in witness of the love and good-will the English bear unto him, the governor hath sent him a coat, desiring that the peace and amity that was between them and us might be continued; not that we feared them, but because we intended not to injure any, desiring to live peaceably, and as with all men, so especially with them our nearest neighbors. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together unto us, bringing for the most part their wives and children with them, they were welcome; yet we being but strangers as yet at Patuxet, alias New Plymouth, and not knowing how our corn might prosper, we could no longer give them such entertainment as we had done, and as we desired still to do. Yet if he would be pleased to come himself, or any special friend of his desired to see us, coming from him they should be welcome. And to the end we might know them from others, our governor had sent him a copper chain; desiring if any messenger should come from him to us, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and give credit to his message accordingly; also requesting him that such as have skins should bring them to us, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing us with them. And whereas, at our first arrival at Paomet, called by us Cape Cod, we found there corn buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants, but some graves of dead new buried, took the corn, resolving, if ever we could hear of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it; yet since we understand the owners thereof were fled for fear of us, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantity of corn, English meal, or any other commodities we had, to pleasure them withal; requesting him that some of his men might signify so much unto them, and we would content him for his pains. And last of all, our governor requested one favor of him, which was that he would exchange some of their corn for seed with us, that we might make trial which best agreed with the soil where we live.

With these presents and message we set forward the 10th

June,* about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namasket, a town under Massasoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst us; but we found it to be some fifteen English miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victual is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither; and now returned with us to Namasket. Thither we came about three o'clock after noon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread called by them *maizium*, and the spawn of shads, which then they got in abundance, insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them. With these they boiled musty acorns; but of the shads we eat heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them; who shooting some fourscore off and killing, they much admired at it, as other shots on other occasions.

After this Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokit, moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals than there. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went and came thither at sunset, where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so called the men of Namasket) fishing upon a weir, which they had made on a river which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields, for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode. Upon it are and have been many

* Morton in his Memorial says, July 2. See p. 48.

towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dress and manure the same. Upon this river dwelleth Massasoit. It cometh into the sea at the Narraganset Bay, where the Frenchmen so much use. A ship may go many miles up it, as the savages report, and a shallop to the head of it; but so far as we saw, we are sure a shallop may. But to return to our journey.

The next morning we brake our fast, took our leave, and departed; being then accompanied with some six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river side, at a known shoal place, it being low-water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valor and courage of some of the savages on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, especially the one, being above three-score. These two, espying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank; where with shrill voices and great courage, standing charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on us in the water. But seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, besides small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but at a spring head. When we came to any small brook, where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also, fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kind-

ness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river but had been inhabited; by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds, which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chestnut trees. The country, in respect of the lying of it, is both champaign and hilly, like many places in England. In some places it is very rocky, both above-ground and in it; and though the country be wild and overgrown with woods, yet the trees stand not thick, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on at length, one of the company, an Indian, espied a man and told the rest of it. We asked them if they feared any. They told us that if they were Narraganset men they would not trust them. Whereat we called for our pieces, and bid them not to fear; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them. But they hailing him, he proved a friend, and had only two women with him. Their baskets were empty; but they fetched water in their bottles, so that we drank with them and departed. After we met another man, with other two women, which had been at rendezvous by the salt water; and their baskets were full of roasted crab fishes and other dried shell fish, of which they gave us; and we eat and drank with them, and gave each of the women a string of beads and departed.

After we came to a town of Massasoit's, where we eat oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Pakanokit;* but Massasoit was not at home. There we stayed, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide Tisquantum requested that at our meeting we would discharge our pieces. But one of us going about to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear to see him take

* Morton says, p. 48, that "they found his (Massasoit's) place to be about forty miles from New Plymouth."

up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again ; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter. Massasoit being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him ; who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him ; where, having delivered our foresaid message and presents, and having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired.

For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us ; and, for his men, they should no more pester us as they had done ; also, that he would send to Paomet, and would help us with corn for seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself and made a great speech ; they sometimes interposing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus : Was not he, Massasoit, commander of the country about them ? Was not such a town his, and the people of it ? And should they not bring their skins unto us ? To which they answered, they were his, and would be at peace with us, and bring their skins to us. After this manner he named at least thirty places, and their answer was as aforesaid to every one ; so that as it was delightful, it was tedious unto us.

This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the King's Majesty, marvelling that he would live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narraganset, for it was King James's country, and he also was King James's man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none ; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want

of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

The next day, being Thursday, many of their *sachims*, or petty governors, came to see us, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for skins, but they durst not; only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark, who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

About one o'clock Massasoit brought two fishes that he had shot; they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. These being boiled, there were at least forty looked for share in them; the most eat of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer. But we desired to keep the Sabbath at home; and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleep, for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing, (for they use to sing themselves asleep,) lice and fleas within doors, and mosquitoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Friday morning, before sunrising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoit being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us, and appointing another, called Tokamahamon, in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions.

At this town of Massasoit's, where we before eat, we were again refreshed with a little fish, and bought about a handful of meal of their parched corn, which was very precious at that time of the year, and a small string of dried shell-fish, as big as oysters. The latter we gave to the six savages that accompanied us, keeping the meal for ourselves. When we drank, we eat each a spoonful of it with a pipe of tobacco, instead of other victuals; and of this also we could not but

give them so long as it lasted. Five miles they led us to a house out of the way in hope of victuals; but we found nobody there, and so were but worse able to return home. That night we reached to the weir where we lay before; but the Namascheucks were returned, so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the savages had shot a shad in the water, and a small squirrel, as big as a rat, called a *neuxis*; the one half of either he gave us, and after went to the weir to fish. From hence we wrote to Plymouth, and sent Tokamahamon before to Namasket, willing him from thence to send another, that he might meet us with food at Namasket. Two men now only remained with us; and it pleased God to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing again. More they gat, and fell to eating afresh, and retained sufficient ready roast for all our breakfasts.

About two o'clock in the morning, arose a great storm of wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, in such violent manner that we could not keep in our fire; and had the savages not roasted fish when we were asleep, we had set forward fasting; for the rain still continued with great violence, even the whole day through, till we came within two miles of home. Being wet and weary, at length we came to Namasket. There we refreshed ourselves, giving gifts to all such as had showed us any kindness. Amongst others, one of the six that came with us from Pakanokit, having before this on the way unkindly forsaken us, marvelled we gave him nothing, and told us what he had done for us. We also told him of some discourtesies he offered us, whereby he deserved nothing. Yet we gave him a small trifle; whereupon he offered us tobacco. But the house being full of people, we told them he stole some by the way, and if it were of that, we would not take it; for we would not receive that which was stolen, upon any terms; if we did, our God would be angry with us, and destroy us. This abashed him, and gave the rest great content. But, at our departure, he would needs carry him on his back through a river whom he had formerly in some sort abused. Fain they would have had us to lodge there all night, and

wondered we would set forth again in such weather. But, God be praised, we came safe home that night, though wet, weary, and surbated.

WINSLOW'S SECOND JOURNEY TO PAKANOKIT, TO VISIT MASSASOIT
IN HIS SICKNESS.

During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth that Massasoit was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them; therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governor again laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobamak for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Corbatant's country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us that Massasoit was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us

blank, but especially Hobamak, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it. Considering now, that he being dead, Corbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst, his dwelling-place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachems thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobamak had been employed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobamak durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

In the way, Hobamak, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches: *Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus*, etc. "My loving sachem, my loving sachem! Many have I known, but never any like thee." And turning him to me, said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he oftentimes restrained their malice, etc., continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *sachimocomaco*, for so they call the sachem's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*; but Corbatant, the sachem, was

not at home, but at Pakanokit, which was some five or six miles off. The squaw sachem, for so they called the sachem's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massasoit; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Pakanokit, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Corbitant with our there being. About half an hour before sunsetting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon, the Dutchmen departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

When we came thither, we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it dis-tempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, Who was come? They told him Winsnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, "Art thou Winslow?" I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled these words; *Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!* that is to say, "O Winslow, I shall never see thee again."

Then I called Hobamak, and desired him to tell Massasoit, that the governor, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this his extremity;

and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, etc., on the point of my knife I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desiring to drink, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after his sight began to come to him, which gave him and us good encouragement. In the mean time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to stool. They said he slept not in two days before, and had not had a stool in five. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governor also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of the his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, etc., desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physic as the surgeon durst administer to him.

He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me, being unaccustomed and unacquainted in

such businesses, especially having nothing to make it comfortable, my consort being as ignorant as myself; but being we must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; also he had three moderate stools, and took some rest; inso-much as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation.

That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed to such poisonous savors. After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could. So I took a man with me, and make a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered. So we returned forthwith, and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time. The fowl being extraordinary fat, I told Hobamak I must take off the top thereof, saying it would make him very sick again if he did eat it. This he acquainted Massasoit therewith, who would not be persuaded to it, though I pressed it very much, showing the strength thereof, and the weakness of his stomach, which could not possibly bear it.

Notwithstanding, he made a gross meal of it, and ate as much as would well have satisfied a man in health. About an hour after he began to be very sick, and straining very much, cast up the broth again; and in overstraining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Then they all wished he had been ruled, concluding now he would die, which we much feared also. They asked me what I thought of him. I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life; for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted. Not long after his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours. When he awaked, I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But on a sudden he chopped his nose in the water, and drew up some therein, and sent it forth again with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope; but we perceived it was but the tenderness of his nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery if he were careful. Many, whilst we were there, came to see him; some by their report, from a place not less than a hundred miles. To all that came one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how amongst others his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit upright of himself.

The day before our coming, another sachem being there, told him that now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were, saying if we had been such friends in deed, as we were in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to per-

suade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before. But upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers'. Divers other things were worthy the noting; but I fear I have been too tedious.

At our coming away, he called Hobamak to him, and privately (none hearing, save two or three other of his pnieses,* who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us; saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agowaywam, and the isle of Capawack, were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore, as we respected the lives of our countrymen, and our own after safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; if, said he, upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, through the multitude of adversaries, they shall with great difficulty preserve their own; and therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the governor thereof, at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our governor, and also to ourselves for our labor and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, through the earnest request of Corbatant, who until now remained at Sawaams, or Pakanokit, we lodged

* The same as pinse, words used by them to signify, *a brave*.

with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, if in case he were thus dangerously sick, as Massasoit had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*, that is, physic, whether then Mr. Governor would send it; and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him. To both which I answered, Yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, how we durst, being but two, come so far into the country. I answered, where was true love, there was no fear; and my heart was so upright towards them, that for mine own part I was fearless to come amongst them. But, said he, if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, it was the most honorable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends; and as it was used on the land, so the ships observed it also at sea, which Hobamak knew and had seen observed. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us, what was the meaning of that ordinary custom. Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation and preservation, of his laws and ordinances, especially of the ten commandments; all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman; about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bod-

ies ; and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God, for that our refreshing, etc. This all of them concluded to be very well ; and said, they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiehtan*. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

The day following, in our journey, Hobamak told me of the private conference he had with Massasoit, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, as I showed before ; which having done, he used many arguments himself to move us thereunto. That night we lodged at Namasket ; and the day following, about the midway between it and home, we met two Indians, who told us, that Captain Standish was that day gone to the Massachusetts. But contrary winds again drove him back ; so that we found him at home ; where the Indian of Paomet still was, being very importunate that the Captain should take the first opportunity of a fair wind to go with him. But their secret and villanous purposes being, through God's mercy, now made known, the Governor caused Captain Standish to send him away, without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to pass that which should be thought most necessary.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

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THE LABORS OF THE PILGRIMS AND EARLY SETTLERS OF THE
PLYMOUTH COLONY FOR THE INSTRUCTION AND CONVERSION
OF THE INDIANS.

THERE is no account of any special effort to christianize the Indians until after the banishment of Roger Williams (1636), when the government of Plymouth Colony enacted laws, "providing for the preaching of the gospel among them, and with the concurrence of the chiefs, for constituting courts to punish misdemeanors." Similar laws were afterwards passed in Massachusetts. Mr. Williams was, that year, "fourteen weeks among them in their smoky holes," learning their language, and endeavoring to enlighten them in the things of the kingdom. Mr. Mayhew began his labors on the Vineyard in 1643, but it was several years before he entered with systematic earnestness in the great work which he ultimately accomplished. Mr. Eliot preached his first sermon to them in 1646, but gathered no church until 1660. Mr. Bourne began his labors as early as 1641, but it was several years before it was generally known that he and Mr. Tupper were "doing a great work" in Sandwich, and on the Cape. Mr. Cotton began his labors on the Vineyard in 1663, and having learned their language, often preached and taught there, and also to their assemblies after his settlement in Plymouth in 1667. Mr. Pierson, Mr. James, and Mr. Fitch, labored on Long Island and

in Connecticut. How much would have been done for the spiritual good of the "sons of the forest," if Mr. Winslow, governor of Plymouth, had not devised the means of supporting these missionaries or ministers, seems quite uncertain.

In 1649, Gov. Winslow was in England, as agent of the Colonies in their concerns with the mother country, and perceiving that a door was opening for successful labor among the Indians in the colonies, "requested that some persons of known piety and integrity might be constituted a corporation to receive and improve the free contributions which might be made for the encouraging of the propagating the gospel among them." A tract was circulated (sent from New England) with the title of "The clear sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England." "Mr. Pelham assisted Gov. Winslow in forwarding the collections, and in July, 1649, Parliament passed an act or ordinance for the advancement of this good work." It would seem that the tract of Roger Williams (mentioned hereafter) was very efficient in arousing the good people of England to these measures. It was published in 1643, and in 1644, "several noblemen and other members of Parliament, addressed a letter to the Gov. and assistants of Massachusetts," in his favor, in which they speak of "his industry and travels among the Indians, and of his *printed labors*, the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America." *Kno. Will.* 200. The preamble to the act recites the "certain intelligence received" in respect to labors by the "ministers and others," and that "fit instruments should be encouraged in propagating the gospel to these poor heathen;" and then enacts that Gov. Winslow and fifteen others (then in England) "shall be a corporation for furthering so good a work, and that a general collection be made for the furtherance of the work through all England and Wales; that the ministers read the act to their people, and stir them up to liberal contributions." On the restoration a new charter was obtained, "and commissioners were appointed by the Corporation, and vacancies by death or otherwise, have, from time to time, been filled until the present day. Perhaps no fund of this nature has ever been more faithfully applied for the purposes for which it was raised." *Hutch.* i. 151-155. There was considerable opposition to the collections, "but subscriptions were opened in London and in the army, by the promotion of Mr. Winslow and Mr. Pelham, and an amount collected which gave a yearly income of £700 or £800 sterling. The appropriations by the commis-

sioners were for printing books in the Indian language, sustaining preachers and teachers, and the education of Indian youth for the ministry. In 1661, they disbursed for printing the Bible £237 5s., for Mr. Eliot's salary £50, for Mr. Mayhew's £30, for Mr. Bourne's £25, and large sums for the education of young persons; the whole amounting to £728 8s. 6d. Probably this was a fair average of the yearly disbursements." — *Hist. Coll.* i. 258.

In the tract before referred to (the Key, etc., 1643),* he gives a very satisfactory account of the Indians, their habits and customs, a vocabulary of their language, their religion and superstitions, and adds, "to that point of their conversion, so much to be longed for, and by all New England so much pretended; and I hope in truth. For myself, I have uprightly labored to suit my endeavors to my pretences; and of later times, to attain their language, I have ran through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea. Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to another. I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their solemn confessions to myself, and one to another of their lost wandering conditions. I know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them, and their desires uttered that way. I know not with how little knowledge and grace of Christ the Lord may save, and therefore will neither despair nor report much." He relates the case of Wequash, the Pequot chief, whom he early addressed on the subject of the Christian faith, and whom, with some self-denial and inconvenience, he visited in his last sickness; from which it appears that his preaching had sunk deep into the heart of the chief, and he seems to have died a believer. — *Hist. Coll.* 206–229.

This was in the year 1643, before which time we have no records of labor of this kind. After this, Williams had the charge of State affairs of the most trying kind. But he continued to preach as he could, generally every Lord's day, though he did not believe he had any commission to establish churches. Mr. Eliot and Mr. Gookins he numbers among his most fast friends. Mr. Calender says (p. 57), "Mr. Williams used to hold a public worship sometimes, though not

* In the biography of Roger Williams, prefixed to the "Bloody Tenet," it is said, "He taught the Indians Christianity, and was the first of the American Pilgrims to convey to these savage tribes the message of salvation."

weekly, and he used to go once a month to Mr. Smith's in the Narraganset, for the same end, and made many laudable attempts to instruct the Indians." Dr. Bentley says (p. 84), "He understood the Indians better than any man of his age; he made not so many converts, but he made more sincere friends." He closes his book by devout ascriptions to the Most High, who has supported him in so many varieties of hardship and outward miseries, and in his converse with barbarous nations, and prays that his "Key" may be the means of opening a door of unknown mercies to them.

Mr. Richard Bourne and Mr. Thomas Tupper were long and faithful laborers for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians "in the Plymouth Patent." They were early emigrants, and seem to have been among the first purchasers of the Sandwich lands, (in 1637,) and the town having been incorporated they appear on the list of Freemen (1641). They were gentlemen of wealth and earnest puritans; and they forthwith took an interest in the conversion of the natives, who were very numerous in that region; the pestilence which swept away the Plymouth Indians not having reached that place. It would seem that they lost no time in learning the language and entering upon the work, "though not educated for the ministry, they turned their attention to gospelizing the Indians." After laboring a few years more privately, they both conducted public worship on Lord's day, in the native congregations. "Mr. Tupper's attention was towards the northward, and westward of Sandwich, where he founded a church near Herring River, which was supplied by a succession of ministers of his name; the last pastor, being his great-grandson, died in 1787. His congregation was 180." — *Hist. Coll.* iii. 188, 189; *Ibid.* i. 201.

Mr. Bourne was a man of great energy of character, and a Christian philanthropist. We find him in 1658 purchasing land for a permanent location of a town for the "South Sea Indians," as the natives there were called, and finally, in 1660, fixing upon Marshpee, and securing the lands there to them and their descendants for ever. Mr. Hawley says, "There is no place I ever saw so adapted to an Indian town as this. It is situated on the sound, in sight of the Vineyard, cut into necks of land, and has two inlets from the sea; well watered, and three fresh ponds in the centre of the plantation, and in the two salt water bays are plenty of fish, and in the rivers, trouts, herrings, etc., and in the woods plenty of game, deer, etc. Mr. Bourne was a man of that discernment, that he considered it as vain to propagate Christian knowledge among any people without a ter-

ritory where they might remain in peace from generation to generation, and not be ousted. The deed was confirmed by the colony court "so that no part or parcel of the lands could be bought by or sold to any white person or persons without the consent of all the Indians, not even with the consent of the general court." (Mr. Bourne afterwards writes that the tract was five miles in width and ten miles in length.) Mr. Bourne pursued his evangelical work and was finally ordained pastor of an Indian church in this place in 1670." He died in 1685. — *Hist. Coll.* iii. 188-190.

"The church was formed of his own disciples and converts, and the solemnities performed by the famous Mr. Eliot and other ministers." A regular civil government was established in the plantation of which Mr. Bourne's son and grandson were successively presidents; and the pastor who succeeded Mr. Bourne was one of his Indian converts, named Popnomet. In 1757 the commissioners of the corporation before mentioned persuaded Rev. Gideon Hawley, who had been before ordained as an evangelist and preacher to the western Indians, to proceed to Marshpee, where he was installed, and was "occupied there more than half a century in benevolent exertion to enlighten the darkened mind, and promote the salvation of his Indian brethren. As a missionary he was peculiarly qualified; for there was a dignity in his manner, and an authority in his voice, which had a great influence with the Indians. The history of his precious labors is very interesting, and in estimation by all." — *Al. B. Dict.*; *Hist. Coll.* iv. 50-67.

The tradition of his labors is very favorable. In 1694 there were between eighty and ninety Indian houses in Marshpee, and probably at least four hundred Indians, "All of whom valued themselves on being Christians." The plantation still continues, but there is little pure Indian blood in the population, so freely has been their intermixture with the negro race.

With considerable reluctance, "rather desiring his work should speak for him," Mr. Bourne gives an account to Mr. Gookins of the numbers and condition of the Indians under his ministration in 1674; from which it appears that the plantation is of the extent before mentioned, and secured to the Indians "under hand and seal;" that he lives on the plantation, and that the Indians in the villages which he visits number about five hundred, and that he has four Indian assistants employed statedly, and four other occasional helpers. — *Hist. Coll.* i. 196-199.

It seems to have been taken for granted by the historians that Mr.

Bourne and Mr. Tupper began their work subsequently to Mr. Eliot. But none of them give the time of their commencement. When first known out of their plantation, they had learned the language, were preaching to the Indians, and had numerous converts. We may well presume, from the facts we have, that their work [in fact] began as early as their acquaintance with the savages there. Mr. Eliot seems not to have known half the churches which were established in the Old Colony in his time. He mentions but *one*; it will hereafter appear that there were four or five.

Christianity seems to have taken an earlier and deeper root among the Indians on the islands than in any place in New England. The Mayhews (father, son, grandson, great-grandson), may be said to be (ecclesiastically) “a race of kings,” — certainly of Patriarchs and “men of God.” The father, (Thomas,) was the “civil governor,” and on the death of his son, became also “the gospel minister of the Vineyard and neighboring islands.” In 1642 they were established on that island, and his son, who was a minister, forthwith began the study of the Indian language, and the work of teaching the gospel to the numerous Indians there. Iliacoomes, one of them, soon became a convert and learned to read, and immediately began to make strong appeals to his brethren against their idolatry and superstitions, and to make known to them the truths of the gospel. This was in 1645. Young Mayhew, having obtained their affection and confidence and learned their language, in the year 1646 commenced preaching and public instruction. (The same year in which Mr. Eliot began a similar work.) “He had visited the natives in their abodes, slept in their smoky wigwams, spent much of the nights in teaching them Scripture history, and before the close of the year 1650, a hundred Indians entered into solemn covenant to obey the Most High God, imploring his mercy through the blood of Christ. In 1652 there were two hundred and eighty-two of the heathen who had embraced Christianity, among whom were eight of their powaws or priests.” Mr. Mayhew’s success encouraged him to make still greater efforts for their good, and he sailed for England, to represent the case and condition of the natives to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, (which has been mentioned,) in order to obtain the means of greater usefulness. The ship in which he sailed foundered at sea, and he and all on board perished. His age was thirty-seven.

The death of the son seemed to lay a necessity on the father, and he, with Iliacoomes, undertook to fill up the vacancy — a labor which called for all their resources. He preached to the English on the

Island and to the natives, visiting them in the remote parts of the Island, collecting them into congregations, and by his instructions preparing for them preachers, teachers, and rulers. In 1674 he writes Mr. Gookin that "a church was gathered fifteen years before, which church has now become *three* churches, having each a pastor and an elder. The families are three hundred, and but one of them that prays not to God. There are ten Indian preachers of good knowledge and holy conversation; seven jurisdictions, and six meetings every Lord's day. There is also a church in Nantucket, where there are many praying Indians and three hundred families." — *Hist. Coll.* i. 205.

Great caution was used in gathering churches and in the admission of members; in general several magistrates and ministers were present at the organizations of the churches, and the ordination of pastors and elders. Mr. Eliot attended the examination of these at the Vineyard. These churches subsisted longer and prospered better than any Indian churches in New England, except that at Marshpee. Mr. Mayhew, the father, died in 1681, aged 93. He had been assisted in his labors by Mr. Cotton, afterward settled at Plymouth, from 1664 to 1667.

Hiacoomes seems to have been the best Indian preacher of whom we have any account. As has been said, he began to teach his "copper-colored brethren in 1645; he met with great opposition and abuse from the powaws. He greatly lamented the loss of young Mayhew," by whom he had been enlightened in the knowledge of the truth, and whose instructions gave him the power of instructing others. In 1670, at the organization of the second church, he was ordained pastor, and Tackanash teacher, by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton. At the ordination of the successor of Tackanash he gave the charge, and was one of them who imposed hands. He died in 1690, aged 80. "He was a faithful and successful minister, slow of speech, grave in manners, and of blameless life, and sound in doctrine."

John, son of the last-mentioned Mr. Mayhew, was called to the ministry by the English on the Island, at the age of 21 (1673), and having a perfect understanding of the Indian language, began, at the same time, to preach to the Indians. He taught alternately in all their assemblies, and assisted them in their ecclesiastical concerns. He died in the sixteenth year of his ministry, leaving an Indian church of one hundred communicants, and several well instructed teachers in the different congregations. The church seems to have been the first Indian church gathered in New England (1659). Experience, son

of the last mentioned, at the age of 21 (1694), began to preach to this church, and took charge of five or six assemblies for worship. Being well versed in the language, he was employed by the Society for propagating the Gospel to make a version of the Psalms, and the Gospel of John, which he did and which was published. He also published an account of the converts, of thirty Indian ministers, and eighty others, "worthy of remembrance on account of their piety." It would seem that Mr. Mayhew, by his frequent visits to Nantucket, was the instrument of gathering a church there. Their pastors and teachers in the churches and assemblies, and also their "rulers, were all native Indians."

Mr. John Cotton (son of the distinguished immigrant of that name) went early in life to the Vineyard, and there preached to the English, and having learned the Indian language, preached also to the natives. After three years' labor he was called to settle in the ministry at Plymouth, and after about a year's probation settled there in 1669. It seems he continued his care and oversight of the Indians in the Plymouth Colony after his settlement, and often preached in the different congregations. He says, "I often preach at Katsamat, at Assawamit, Namasket, and Titicut (Middleborough). He mentions also Coquit (Dartmouth), and Sakonet (Little Compton), and Acushnet (New Bedford). It seems that Mr. Bourne sometimes preached at these places." — *Hist. Coll.* i. 198–200. He was able to give instruction with great facility; his knowledge of the language enabled him to revise the Indian Bible of Mr. Eliot, and to be the editor of the second edition in 1685. As many Indians attended the Courts at Plymouth, he took that opportunity to preach to them.*

As has been said, Mr. Eliot began his missionary labors among the Indians in 1646. All our histories give him full credit "as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed:" his perseverance, self-denial, and success were worthy of all praise. His qualifications were good, his hardihood and fearlessness were great, and many were converted by his instrumentality. But it requires some consideration before we

* It is not possible, in this summary, to give an adequate account of the unexampled labors and success of the Mayhews, among the numerous Indians on these islands. A very full account of the "Indian converts, their lives and dying speeches, their godly preachers and other good and religious men and women," is given by Experience Mayhew, who preached the gospel on the islands. Printed in London in 1727, p. 310. A book of much interest, and which richly deserves a reprint. The lives and labors of the Mayhews, who preached to the English and Indians on the islands, are added by Mr. Prince.

agree to the eulogies of his descendant; "that he was the most successful missionary that ever preached the gospel to the Indians." Perhaps others were as well qualified, as persevering, as efficient and successful as Mr. Eliot. But the reader must judge. He was more favored by historians, and his labors are given more in detail. But the practical results are recorded, and they are better evidence of the work which was done than the particulars of the progress. Perhaps his most laborious work was the translation of the Scriptures: but they were revised by Mr. Cotton, and he was the editor of the second edition. If the race of Indians had not so soon melted away, this work might have been very useful. But it stands a monument of labor, and of good designed, and of some good accomplished. The corporation before mentioned incurred the expense and paid him a salary. Like Mr. Bourne, he thought, the Indians, to be christianized, should have a permanent location, and by the bounty of the society and General Court, he caused lands to be purchased and one or more towns to be built, and public worship to be established at Natick in 1651. After assisting to establish a church on the Vineyard, in 1659, he established one in Natick in 1660, in both of which great care was taken that none but true converts should be admitted. It seems he did not intermit his pastoral labors among his own people at Roxbury, so that his labors were, in some sense, double. In this respect Mr. Bourne and Mr. Mayhew had the advantage, being devoted to the single call of the natives, or at least having very few English to instruct. It is said he visited the Indian congregations once in two weeks, and passed much time with the natives in the wilderness; but the others were in the midst of them constantly, and some of them brought up with them from infancy, and from the first were conversant with their language and habits. Mr. Eliot's congregations were all in Massachusetts proper; but he occasionally visited the Indian churches in the "Plymouth Patent," and the islands, to assist in the gathering of the churches and the ordination of ministers. His salary from the corporation was fifty pounds, besides what his own people paid him. He is said to have been generous, charitable, and hospitable, and attended to his charge to the end. He died in 1690, aged eighty-six, having been for some years assisted by his son, a very promising young man who early learned the Indian language, and being settled at Newton, preached, as it is said, once in two weeks to the Indian congregations. There were fourteen villages, and eleven hundred praying Indians in all, and two churches in 1674. These were the "palmy days" of Mr. Eliot's labors. But for his

strenuous efforts, aided by Mr. Gookin, to prove the innocence of the Indians and protect them, the whole of them would have been extirpated in the war of 1775. As it was, they were much reduced, and as he says "the congregations were contracted into four." It does not appear that they afterwards much increased, though in 1687 the congregations were five. The son died in 1668, aged 33.

It is difficult to conceive of a more thorough, efficient, and systematic laborer among the Indians than was Rev. Samuel Treat of Eastham, son of Gov. Treat of Connecticut. He began his labors about the time of the height of Mr. Eliot's success in 1674. He was graduated in 1669, and settled in Eastham in 1672. His field of labor was the whole of the cape below Yarmouth. "Soon after his settlement, he studied the Indian language, and devoted to the Indians in his neighborhood much of his time and attention. Through his zeal and attention and diligence many of the savages were brought into a state of civilization and order, and not a few of them were converted to the faith. In 1685, when an account of the praying Indians in the colony was transmitted to England by Gov. Hinkley, it was found the praying Indians within his parish amounted to five hundred, besides boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be three times that number. Eight years after, at the request of President Increase Mather, he wrote a letter, which, as it contains valuable information, it may be proper to give entire." — (*Hist. Eastham*, 38.)

"REV. AND WORTHY SIR,

Being advertised that it would not be unreasonable or unserviceable at this juncture, to give you a true and impartial account, both of the number and present state of our Indians, and of the acceptance and entertainment of the Gospel among them, and their professed subjection thereto; whereof, sir, you may be assured as follows: There are five hundred Indians within the limits of our township, unto whom, these many years past, I have, from time to time, imparted the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, in their own language, and truly hope not without success. I continue in the same service, earnestly imploring, and not without hopes of a more plentiful outpouring of the spirit upon them.

I do verily not know, nor can I learn that there is so much as one of these Indians that does obstinately absent from, but [they] do jointly frequent and attend upon seasons of the preaching of the word, and countenance the same, not only on Lord's day, but upon public thanksgivings and fast-days.

They have four distinct assemblies, in four villages, belonging to our township, in which they have four teachers of their own choice, of the sober, well affected, and understanding persons among them, who duly preach to them when I am not with them. These Indian teachers repair to my house once a week, to be further instructed in the concerns proper for their service and station.

There are, in the above said villages, four schoolmasters of the best accomplishments for that service, who teach their youth to read and write their own language.

There are also six justices of the peace, or magistrates, in these villages, who regulate their civil affairs, and punish criminals and transgressors of the civil law. They have three stated courts, and their inferior officers. Many of them are of a serious, civil, sober conversation and deportment, who are making essays towards a further progressive step of obedience, and conformity to the rules of the gospel, having a great desire to be baptized.

They are very serviceable by their labor to the English vicinity, and have, all along, since the wars with their nation, been very friendly to the English, and forward to serve them in that quarrel; their deportment, converse, and garb being more manly and laudable than any other Indians that I have observed in the province.

But, sir, I would not be tedious; only craving your interest at the throne of grace, that we may be serviceable to the name and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

SAMUEL TREAT.

Eastham, August 23, 1693."

"Every month Mr. Treat visited and preached in their villages. At other times the Indian teachers read to their congregations the sermons he had written for them. He translated the Confession of Faith into the Nauset language for the edification and improvement of the converts. Believing it would be impossible to make much impression on their minds unless he could gain their affections, he treated them with great affability and kindness, frequently visited them in their wigwams, and with cheerfulness joined in their festivals. They venerated him as a pastor and loved him as a father.

"He was a laborious and faithful minister to his own people, and had reason to bless God for the visits of the Holy Spirit on his labors in the conversion of many of his hearers, by which many were added to his church. He addressed his Maker with humble devotion, and

his prayers were copious and fervent." — *Hist. Coll.* viii. 171, 172; *Hist. Eastham*, 38–41.

By the specimens given in the Collections, he seems to have been a rousing, terrific preacher. It is said, that "knowing the terrors of the Lord, he persuaded men." He could speak and write the Nauset language with great facility, and prosecuted his labors among them a great number of years, with much success, and little or no interruption, and sent letters into other parts of the colonies, urging the people to prepare themselves for this work. "He died in 1717, aged 69, having labored in word and in doctrine more than forty-four years with great faithfulness." — *Ibid.* 54.

"But neither his prayers nor his zeal in reforming and civilizing them could save them from destruction. A blasting wind seems to have smitten them as the English took possession of their country." — *Ibid.*

The missionary labors and success are very interesting, but the end is very melancholy. We must, however, pursue the history a little further. It is said, and no doubt truly, that Christianity met with much better success among the Indians of Plymouth Colony than among those of Massachusetts. — *Hist. Coll.* i. 201.

Mr. Gookin, an assistant or magistrate of Massachusetts, was appointed by the General Court superintendent to all the Indians in that colony who submitted to the government; and continued in that office till his death in 1687. In 1674 he wrote "Historical Collections of the History of the Indians in New England," which are published in Vol. i. of the Collections of the Historical Society. The account is very full; their customs, religion, government, and the exertions made to civilize them, and to bring them to an acquaintance with the Christian religion; also the degree of success which was attained. There were at that time in that colony, fourteen villages of praying Indians, numbering, according to his estimation, eleven hundred, and he gives the names of the villages and the numbers in each. There were also two churches. He received from Mr. Bourne and Mr. Cotton some account of the praying Indians of the Plymouth colony at the same time. The number communicated by Mr. Bourne, in Sandwich and on the Cape, was at that period, four hundred and sixty-two, and he gives the names of the villages and the number in each. Mr. Cotton mentions the villages in the colony in which he ministered, but does not give the numbers of the congregations. But they are ascertainable from other sources: Kitteaummut, 40; Asso-

wampset, Nemasket, and Titicut 120; Coquit 120; Acushnet 85; Sakonett 90; Mattakeeset 40; besides the church under Mr. Tupper's ministry in Manomet 180 = 585, making in the "Plymouth Patent," at that time, ten hundred and forty-seven. Mr. Gookin at the same time received from Mr. Mayhew an account of the praying Indians of the Vineyard and the islands. He says there are ten Indian preachers and six meetings on Lord's day in the villages, and in Nantucket three hundred attendants, and which in all, are estimated, from Mr. Mayhew's account, 1,500 on the Vineyard and Chappequiddick, and three hundred on Nantucket.

There were two churches in Massachusetts, three on the Vineyard and Chappequiddick, and two on Nantucket. He does not mention the churches in Plymouth colony, but they are ascertained from other sources, one at Marshpee (*supra*), one at Manomet, under Mr. Tupper (*Hist. Coll.* iii. 188), one at Titicut, one at Dartmouth; but it is not certain that they had all been constituted at this time, (1674). — *Hist. Coll.* i. 205; iii. 150; x. 130–132. There were also ten or twelve congregations in the villages.*

About this time Rev. Mr. Treat began his labors, and in about ten years had added five hundred to the number of praying Indians in the "Plymouth Patent;" so that in 1685 Gov. Hinkley communicated to the corporation in England, informing them that there were then in that colony "fourteen hundred and thirty-nine christianized Indians, besides boys and girls under twelve years of age, which were supposed to be more than three times that number," (*Hutch.* i. 313,) and he sets down fourteen villages in which they meet for public worship.

But it was far otherwise in the Massachusetts colony. "Philip's war" was very disastrous to the labors of Mr. Eliot, and almost entirely suspended them. The irritation against the Indians was very great, and jealousy and distrust of his converts were everywhere rife, and the rage of the people was everywhere violent and alarming.

Mr. Gookin seems to be the only magistrate who endeavored to interpose and prevent the outbreak of the populace; and he, with Mr. Eliot, incurred much abuse for acting as the friend of the poor Indians, who were suffering from both parties. Some were put to death by Philip as traitors, some fell in battle, some were executed by the

* Mr. Eliot says, "there were ten places where they worshipped on the Vineyard, five in Nantucket, and ten in Plymouth, and, since the war, contracted to four in Massachusetts. — *Hist. Coll.* iii. 185.

civil magistrates, as the accomplices of Philip, and some in partisan warfare excited by revenge on the loss of friends. The General Court finally collected the remnant (about five hundred), and removed them to the Islands in Boston Harbor or Bay, where they suffered incredible hardships. Although they made attempts, after the war, to renew their towns and fields, their despondency was such that their "places of worship were contracted from fourteen to four;" so that in 1698 the commissioners reported but two hundred and five Indians in all Massachusetts proper.

The war had little or no effect upon the Plymouth Indians, and it would seem, did not impede their Christian instruction or increase. The most of them were remote from the war; and generally friendly to the English. "In 1793 there were within the limits of Eastham, five hundred adult Indians to whom Mr. Treat preached, two hundred and fourteen at Marshpee and places adjacent to whom Mr. Rowland Cotton preached, and one hundred and eighty to whom Mr. Tupper preached; and five hundred more subject to the visitations of Mr. John Cotton." — See Mr Mayhew's Narrative cited *Hist. Coll.* i. 201. Also, Neal and Mather.

It is said that "in 1696 there were thirty Indian churches (including Plymouth and the Islands, which had become incorporated with the Bay)." — *Hist. Am. Miss.* 8. But this is a great mistake. There were thirty villages and meetings for worship and instruction; five in Massachusetts, ten in Plymouth, ten on the Vineyard, and five on Nantucket. It is further said "there were three thousand converted Indians." This is also a mistake. Gov. Hinkley says, "Their manner is not to accept of *praying* Indians or Christians, but such as do, before some of the magistrates or civil rulers, renounce their former heathenish manners and give up themselves to be praying Indians; neither do they choose any other than such to bear office among them." It will presently be seen, that of the three thousand praying Indians in 1698, twelve hundred and ninety were in Plymouth Colony, fifteen hundred and eighteen on the islands, and two hundred and five in "Massachusetts patent." "But few of the number were admitted to the churches, which were formed with great solemnity and much strictness of examination, and the terms of communion were such that the numbers were not considerable." There were but two churches in Massachusetts, three on the Vineyard, two at Nantucket, and four or five in Plymouth. The communicants in the respective churches, numbered from twenty to one hundred.

But it is proposed to close this account with the full report of

the commissioners employed by the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, made in pursuance of "a visitation in 1698, by Rev. Grindal Rawson, pastor of the church in Mendon, and Rev. Samuel Danforth, pastor of the church in Taunton, among the several plantations;" men of high character, and versed in the language of the Indians. "In pursuance of the orders and instructions given us by the Hon. Commissioners for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in the American plantations in New England and parts adjacent, we have given the Indians in the several plantations in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, a visit, and find as followeth:—

At Little Compton we find two plantations of Indians who keep two distinct assemblies for the worship of God, (according to the best information we could have,) and all constant therein. The first assembly dwells at Saconet; Samuel Church, alias Sochawwahham, has, for more than one year past, endeavored their instruction, and is best capable of any in that place to perform that service. He has ordinarily forty auditors, many times more: of these above twenty are men. Divers here are well instructed in their catechisms, and above ten can read the Bible. Here are likewise two Indian rulers, John Tohkukquonno and Jonathan George; the first of which is a man well spoken of.

At Cokesit, in Little Compton, Daniel Hineckley hath taught here four years; twice every Sabbath. Eleven families are his auditors; most of them here can read; and many young ones, of whom we had an instance, can say their catechisms. Of this company three persons are in full communion with the church settled at Nukkeh-kummees. A person called Aham is schoolmaster here, and we are informed performs his work well. Here are also two persons improved as rulers. Preaching here, the two fore-mentioned teachers, at our direction, prayed very soberly and understandingly. They gave very decent attendance, and were handsomely clothed in English apparel.

At Dartmouth, we found two assemblies of Indians. At Nukkeh-kummees, William Simons (ordained by Japhet, of Martha's Vineyard, three years since) is the pastor. In the church are forty communicants; part dwelling at Nukkeh-kummees, part in Assameekg, Cokesit, Acushnet, and Assawampsit. Here are many that can read well. The word is preached here twice every Sabbath. Twenty families, in which are one hundred and twenty persons at least, are, for the most part, constant hearers; almost all the children can read. Jonathan hath been their schoolmaster, but ceases now for want of encouragement; we propose his continuance, as a person well fitted

for the employment. William Simons informs that here are four persons chosen annually for rulers. They are well clothed, and give good attendance while we dispensed the word to them; their pastor praying with good affection and understanding; and is likewise well reported of by the English.

At Acushnet, John Briant was their teacher for five or six years past. Here are fourteen families, unto whom William Simons, once in a month, ordinarily comes and preaches. Some of those who belong to the church at Nukkehkummees, being settled here, viz. five men and ten women. We find that scandals among them are reflected upon; if any exceed the bounds of sobriety, they are suspended until repentance is manifested. By the best intelligence we could arrive to from sober English dwellers on the place, we understand they are diligent observers of the Sabbath. They are generally well clothed, diligent laborers, but for want of schooling their children are not so well instructed as at other places; though they earnestly desire a remedy.

At Major Winthrop's Island, Mr. John Weeks, an Englishman, teaches them on the Sabbath. An Indian, named Asa, chief ruler among them, and a person well reported of, teaches them when Mr. Weeks cannot attend to it. Here are about nine families, most of which can read well, are diligent in their callings, and generally belong to the church whereof Japhet is pastor at Martha's Vineyard. An Indian called Sampson, attends their school every winter, and hath the reputation of the most able among them for that service, taking pains in catechising their children every week. Men, women, and children are thirty persons in all. Half the Indian inhabitants of this island have died in a few years past. Three families living at Sakonesit-point do attend to the meeting at Mr. Winthrop's Island. At an island called Stocum's Island, we hear of seven families, most of which can read, being lately moved thither from the Vineyard and other places. We hear of some Indians at the furthest island, formerly called Sandford's Island, where there is an Indian teacher.

At Martha's Vineyard, viz. at Chilmark, alias Nashanekammuk: here is an Indian church of which Japhet is pastor; a person of the greatest repute for sobriety and religion, and diligent in attending his ministerial employment: unto whom is adjoined Abel, a ruling elder, who likewise preaches to a part of the church, living at too great a distance ordinarily to attend Japhet's ministry; although they come together to attend church administrations. In that place we find two hundred and thirty-one persons, threescore and four in full commun-

ion. Their children are well instructed, as we find by our examination of them in their catechisms.

At Ohkonkemme, within the bounds of Tisbury, are threescore and twelve persons, unto whom Stephen and Daniel, who are brothers, are preachers; well reported of for their gifts and qualifications. Here we spent part of a Sabbath, and were joyful spectators of their Christian and decent carriage; the aforesaid Daniel praying and preaching not only affectionately but understandingly; unto whom also we imparted a word of exhortation in their own language, to their contentment and declared satisfaction.

At Seconkcut, in aforesaid Chilmark also, which belongs to the inspection of aforesaid Stephen and Daniel, are thirty-five persons, to whom, for their greater ease, either the one or the other dispenses the word.

At Gay-head, Abel and Elisha are preachers to at least two hundred and sixty souls; who have here at their charge a meeting-house already framed. We find that the Indians here, as also may be affirmed of most of the Indians belonging to Martha's Vineyard (Chaubaqueduck excepted), are well instructed in reading, well clothed and mostly in decent English apparel.

At Edgartown, viz. at Sahnchecontuckquet, are twenty-five families, amounting to one hundred and thirty-six persons; Job Russel is their minister.

At Nunnepoag about eighty-four persons; Joshua Tackquannash their minister, Josiah Thomas their schoolmaster.

At Chaubaqueduck, about one hundred and thirty-eight persons; Maumachegin preaches to them every Sabbath. Josiah, by birth, is their ruler or sachem.

At Nantuckquet, we find five congregations. The preachers unto which are Job Muckemuck, who succeeds John Giles, deceased; John Asherman, a person well reputed of; Quequenah, Notowah, a man greatly esteemed by the English for his sobriety, Peter Hayt, a well carried and serious man. Also Wonnoshon and Daniel Spotso, Codpoganut and Noah (a person never known to be overtaken with drink, but a zealous preacher against it). These are the constant teachers. Among these are two churches, who have ordained officers, in each of which are twenty communicants at least; in which a commendable discipline is maintained, as persons of good reputation on the place have informed us. The whole number of adult persons here amount to about five hundred. Three schools were upheld among them, though at present none, for want of primers. A good

meeting-house is building here, the frame whereof, at their desire and charge, is already procured by the worshipful captain Gardner. Here we preached to them in their own language, twice in one assembly, unto which they were generally convened on the Lord's day. Three of their principal preachers were improved by us in prayer, that we might discover something of their abilities; in which we found them good proficient; the whole attending with diligence and great seeming affection.

Sandwich: here we find two assemblies of Indians, to one whereof Capt. Thomas Tupper, an Englishman, preaches every Sabbath day. Here are likewise Indian preachers, whose abilities in prayer were tried, viz. Ralph Jones (a person well reputed of for sobriety) and Jacob Hedge. There are in number three hundred and forty-eight persons, men, women, and children, generally well clothed. Preaching among these, in a small meeting-house, built for them after the English fashion, we experienced their good attention, and had their thankful acknowledgments. Their Indian rulers here are William Nummuck, Ralph Jones, Jacob Hedge, and John Quoy.

At Mashpah, belonging to Sandwich, we found another assembly of Indians, among whom the Rev. Rowland Cotton frequently dispenses the word, unto whose good progress in the Indian language we cannot but subjoin our attestation, having heard him dispense the word to them; among whom also we left a word of exhortation. They are in general well clothed, being in number fifty-seven families, in which are, from ten years old and upwards, two hundred and sixty-three persons, divers of whom have the character of very sober men. The Indian preacher here is Simon Papmonit, a person suitably qualified as most among them for the work. Their rulers are Caleb Papmonit, Caleb Pohgneit, Sancoshin, James Ketah. Here they want a schoolmaster.

At Eastham and Harwich, Eastharbor, Billingsgate, and Monimoy, are (as Mr. Treat informs us) five hundred persons. At Ponanumicut, Thomas Coshaumag, preacher and schoolmaster. Their rulers, William Stockman and Lawrence Jeffries. Families, twenty-two. Moses teaches school here. At Eastharbor and Billingsgate, Daniel Munshee, preacher; Daniel Samuel, ruler. About twenty houses, in some of which two families.

At Monimoy, in which fourteen houses, John Kozens preacher and schoolmaster. Rulers, John Quossen and Menekist. At Sahqua-tucket, alias Harwich, fourteen families, to whom Manepel preaches. Joshua Shantam, ruled. Many among these, almost every head of

families, are persons capable of reading Scripture, as we are informed.

At Plymouth, namely, Kitteaummut, or Monimet Ponds, William Nummuck has preached some time, but has removed, but his return was earnestly desired. Here are ten families. Joseph Wauno and John his brother, improved by Major Bradford to decide small differences among them. Esther, John's wife, has sometimes been improved as a school dame; and is willing still to be useful in that way. Near Duxbury saw-mill we hear of three or four families; a like number at Mattakeest. At Kehtekticut are forty adults, to whom Charles Aham preaches, and teaches their children to read.

At Assawampsit and Quittaub are twenty houses containing eighty persons, John Hiacoomes, preacher and constant schoolmaster. Also Jocelyn preaches at Assawampsit. At this plantation are persons belonging to the church at Nukkehkummees.

At Natick, we find a small church of seven men and three women; their pastor Daniel Tokkohwompait (ordained by the Rev. and holy man of God, John Eliot), who is a person of great knowledge. Here are fifty-nine men, and fifty-one women, and seventy children under sixteen. At Hassinamisco are five families, unto whom James Printer stands related as teacher." — *Grafton*.

This report exhibits thirty assemblies or congregations of praying Indians which Messrs. Rawson and Danforth visited, in which were thirty-six teachers or preachers, five schoolmasters, and twenty rulers, all of whom were Indians, with the exception of the patriarch, Capt. Tupper. But in the "Plymouth Patent" the teachers and preachers were under the care of Messrs. Treat and the two Cottons, who also preached to the congregations. Judge Davis, who was well acquainted with the localities, and otherwise well informed on this subject, estimates the number of praying Indians thus visited, as follows: "The whole 3,080; of this number 1,290 were within the Old Colony, and 1,585 on the islands; and 205 only in all the other parts of Massachusetts, which before the war of 1675, exhibited 2,100." The account is creditable to the Indians, as respects their improvement and civilization, and religious observances. But although they hold their numbers in the Old Colony, they were fast wasting away in all other parts, and the Plymouth Indians followed hard upon them. The *white* faces were crowding in and the *red* faces were fast being crowded out. Notwithstanding all the care of the missionaries and their labors for their good, the vices of civilization broke in with more

power than the admonitions, instructions, and example of the messengers of the gospel.

The bounty of the society could not preserve any of the race among us except in case of the wise provision they made for them in the purchase or reservation of the lands at Marshpee and Chappaquiddick. Those plantations continue, and the gospel continues to be preached in them. But they have so freely mixed their blood with the negro race that but few, if any, pure blooded Indians remain. It is now about one hundred years since the churches at Titicut, at Dartmouth, and at Buzzard's Bay have become extinct, and the two churches in Massachusetts were probably extinct a half century before that time.

We are unwilling to close this account without considering the special claims of several of these missionaries to our grateful remembrance; missionaries which although spoken of with respect, have yet been passed over by the eulogists with little notice. We do not propose to eulogize them, but we certainly should desire to do them justice; and if they deserve to have a "good report" in the church, we, of this age, who are informed of the steadfastness of their faith, "their patience of hope and labor of love," should be very willing and desirous to give them such a "report."

Capt. Tupper and Mr. Bourne, were *laymen*, gentlemen immigrants, with strong puritan blood and puritan sentiments; they land on our shore, purchase lands of the savages, set up their habitations in the midst of them, set about learning their language, and scarcely lose a day before they declare to them "the acceptable year of the Lord." One of them has Marshpee confined to them, and sets up his work in their midst; the other labors with them at his own cost, providing a place of worship at Monimet, on Buzzard's Bay. There they labored, but not for the meat that perishes. Mr. Bourne is the preacher to four or five hundred, Mr. Tupper to three hundred and forty, (both of whom were the pastors of large churches,) the first above forty years, the second above fifty. The fruits of their labors we need not repeat.

" The dear remembrance of the just,
Like a green root revives and bears
A train of blessings to their heirs
When dying nature sinks in dust."

And the Rev. Messrs. Treat and the two Cottons. (Could not the friends of the father spare a word for the son?) They lost no time on

entering on their work to qualify them for preaching the precious truth to the red man, whose soul was worth as much as the white man's. Above forty years Mr. Treat held his congregation of Indians in the manner which he indicates in his letter, which has been inserted in this sketch. The great day will reveal the result. He went forth "bearing precious seed, and returned bringing his sheaves with him."

It will be remembered that these men did, at least, an ordinary pastoral work *at home*; they also did a great amount of labor among the native tribes, and thirty years' labor of the Cottons will not soon be forgotten.

Of Mr. Eliot we need say nothing. His praise is in all the churches, and his biography is in almost every hand. He had certainly much to discourage him; the melting away of his people, and the hostility of the whole country against him, so that his Bible was scarcely read longer than he was in preparing it. But, after all, he did a great work among the natives, and no doubt "the day will declare it."

"Let those who sow in sadness wait
Till the fair harvest come;
They shall confess their sheaves are great,
And shout the blessings home."

THE FAITH AND ORDER OF THE LEYDEN-PLYMOUTH CHURCH;
AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON OTHER CHURCHES IN ENGLAND
AND IN THIS COUNTRY.

"*Testra autem pietas, viri exules, quæ maluit patriam quam evangelium deserere, commodisque carere temporariis, quam permisceri sacris a Christo alienis, egregiam sane meretur laudem.*"

ADVERTISEMENT.

INDEPENDENCY — CONGREGATIONALISM.

Although the subsequent Article may appear to be chiefly historical, it is intended to be no further so than the historical facts are connected with the main design, which is — to show, with some precision and some detail, the ecclesiastical polity of the Leyden-Plymouth church, and that the churches in England and Massachusetts were modelled on the Platform of this: the account is, however, carried somewhat further, when supposed to be of general interest.

These churches are usually denominated in England, "Independent," and in this country, "Congregational," although not uniformly so in either. It will appear that, from etymology and usage, the words are equipollent — of equal force, to express the true character of the order of our churches.

Robinson and Jacob, (about the year 1616,) although perhaps not designing to assume any particular name, yet, in declaring their principles, use this language: —

Robinson. "Peter and Paul was no more one man, without relation to other men, than a particular congregation, rightly instituted and ordered, is a whole, entire, and perfect church, and independently, in respect to other churches under Christ. — *Rob. Works*, iii. 16.

Jacob, the coadjutor and pupil of Robinson, says, "Where each congregation giveth their free consent in their own government, there certainly each congregation is an entire and independent body politic." — *Han.* vol. i. p. 231.

Mr. Cotton's books had reached England and were the means of

proselytizing Dr. Owen. He said, however, that opposers had no right to affix a meaning to the word "independent," and then argue against it.

Gov. Hutchinson says, "The Plymouth people were the first who took or received the name of Independents, which in a few years was given to a body of men in England, who assumed the government. The Massachusetts people refined and took the name of Congregationalists, although, perhaps, it will be difficult at this day to show any material difference between the churches of the two countries. — Vol. ii. pp. 414, 415.

Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Burroughs, and Simpson, of the Westminster Assembly, were uniformly called "Independents," and only objected that the word was wrongfully charged as implying too much assumption — a swelling word. Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin were called "the two Atlases of Independency," in the Savoy Synod, and brought in the articles under the name of Congregationalists. However, everybody persisted in calling them Independents, and the Union * in 1833 made the declaration of their faith, order, and discipline, as of the "Congregational, or Independent Dissenters."

Dr. Vaughan, a man of great weight of character, in a book recently published by him in England, which he entitles "Congregationalism, or the polity of the Independent Churches," applies the word independent to the churches, and congregationalism to their polity. He says, page 3, "The independence of particular churches is the centre principle, the great element of Congregationalism." The communion of the churches is as consistent with one term as the other, and, without jealousy, every one should be allowed to use convertible terms, for a designation, as he thinks most fit and proper.

Hooker says, "The church may be said to be 'independent,' sufficient to attain her end, and therefore hath complete power to exercise all the ordinances of God." — *Survey*, p. 2.

The ecclesiastical historians (Mosheim, Collier, Rapin, Buck, and others) treat of the order of our churches, both in this country and in England, by the name of the "Independents."

Rev. John Cotton says, "Independency is not a fit name for the way of our churches; it is too strait. It holds us forth as independent of all others," and much prefers and advises to call it "Congregationalism." — *Way of the Churches*, 11. The framers of the Platform

* The Congregational Union of England and Wales.

adopt his suggestion. For, as Hubbard says, "whatever Mr. Cotton delivered was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment." When the churches were forming under his plastic hand, the hard hand of Archbishop Laud was upon the Independents in England, "haling men and women, and committing them to prison." Good policy therefore required, or at least pointed, to a different designation for the churches in New England. Numerous facts show that the planters were cautious and even fearful of incurring the displeasure of the authorities of the mother country. It was not among the least of the reasons for banishing Roger Williams that the displeasure of the king was feared if he was allowed to question the validity of the patent, and the displeasure of the bishops, if he was allowed to preach that the Church of England was not a true church. Indeed these reasons are expressly assigned for some of their measures.

HISTORICAL NOTICE.

Questionless, the high character of the Pilgrims has its foundation in their religion, — their unwavering faith, their heroic fortitude, their patience in suffering, their perseverance in their pilgrimage, both in exile and colonization, their inflexible virtue, combined with their intelligence and enterprise, — are now "known on earth by thousand signs," and we may almost say, "by thousand through the skies." But it is not less manifest, that that which gave occasion for their being called to show forth this faith and these virtues, was their ecclesiastical polity and practice. They admit that their first religious experience took place while they belonged to the Church of England, and that their doctrinal views were in accordance with the articles of that church. But they were soon convinced that the worship of that church was formal, supererogatory, and even idolatrous; and especially that its national character, which admitted the immoral and profane to its sacraments, and its episcopal government, were wholly unscriptural. Under this conviction, they could not conscientiously continue in its communion, and they were men who chose and dared to act according to this conviction and the dictates of conscience, even at the risk of the loss of all temporal good.

As early as 1602, they became an independent church. After remaining unnoticed a few years, they incurred the displeasure of the

bishop, and the condemnation of the civil tribunals. Imprisonment, exile, and pilgrimage, were their portion until they landed on the Plymouth Rock. Of their Christian fortitude, hardships, and patience; their perseverance and final success, "The New England's Memorial" is a true, though it may not be a full and complete record.*

It would seem that every inquiring mind would be desirous to become acquainted with the character, order, worship, and discipline of this first independent church, which through so many hardships obtained a home in New England, when it was the habitation only for savage men and savage beasts; preferring to encounter all these trials to a return to the "mother church." It is the design of these sheets to examine with care, exactness, and, in some matters, even minuteness, their history and their memorials, and the views of their contemporaries, and to compare them with the polity and practice of the some ten thousand churches of the same faith and order, (which have since been gathered in this and other countries,) with this first permanent Congregational or independent church, which a distinguished historian has said, "is the mother of us all." †

We say first permanent independent church, because all previous attempts to sustain such a church in modern times had failed. Persecution was rife, the ministers and worshippers were seized, imprisoned, some of them slain, and multitudes of them perished in loathsome dungeons. Luther was at first a Congregationalist, but when the converts were multiplied and churches called for, he said "what can I do with these simple towns' people?" ‡ His fears prevailed; he became an Erastian and left them with the civil rulers. And Calvin, although the greatest of the reformers in matters of doctrine, (yet "saw not all things,") and never established a Congregational church.

Rev. John Robinson was pastor of this church of the pilgrims. He is spoken of by historians as "the author of Independency." But as Rev. John Cotton says, "it was instituted and practised in the first ages of Christianity, and our Saviour himself is the true 'Author' of this first ecclesiastical state of the church;" and Gov. Winslow says, "the Primitive Churches of the Apostolic age were the pattern which Mr. Robinson had in his eye." Questionless, he was a great re-

* See Extracts from Founders of New Plymouth, by Hunter, appended to this Article.

† Hon. Alden Bradford.

‡ D'Aubigne, vol. iv. p. 32.

former, and revived the true order of the churches, which had been, for ages, swallowed up and lost in Episcopacy and Romanism. Perhaps it was not wholly lost. We can perceive traces of it among the Paulicians and Albigenses, among the converts in Luther's time, among the followers of Wickliff, called Lollards and Gospellers, and even in the time of the "bloody Mary." In the reign of Elizabeth, Barrow, Penry, and Greenwood,* became martyrs for attempting reforms and meetings in the Congregational way, and one Robert Brown made himself notorious for his denunciation of the Established Church, and for collecting meetings which he called the only true churches. But his apostasy was very scandalous, his name became a reproach, and his followers were scattered.

But all these movements had been crushed, the ministers silenced by death or exile, and the worshippers were "as sheep without a shepherd," when, in 1602, Robinson and his coadjutors had constituted an independent church in the north of England. The publication of Robinson's works had been desired by the "Congregational Board" here, when it was ascertained that they were in a course of publication by "the Congregational Union" in England. The "Board" forthwith became interested in the enterprise, and at once purchased an edition, and have given extensive circulation to his life and works, in three volumes; books which should be read with attention, as the best expounders of our order yet printed. It will be seen that Mr. Robinson, having been beneficed in the Church of England, renounced that church and his fellowship in the university, and became pastor of the independent church before mentioned; that persecution drove him and his church to Holland in 1608; that his church made their pilgrimage to Plymouth in 1620; that they and he expected he would shortly follow them, but that he died in 1625 at the age of fifty years. In his exile he was followed with censorious books and denunciations by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and even Puritans, charging him with Brownism, democracy, and as a Separatist who had broken away from the "mother church" to the scandal of all true religion. To all these books Mr. Robinson replied, and vindicated his course, his faith and "the order of the house of God," in the masterly argument and great purity of style exhibited in these his published works, and which commend themselves to all attentive readers.

* See Punch, Hist. Cong.

A catalogue of his works may be found, in chronological order, (12 books and tracts) in the third volume. It is manifest from these, that he was a man of a clear, strong, and cultivated mind: his positions are well argued, and the style more perspicuous and modernized than other writers of his day. The historians and biographers characterize him as "a man of genius, quick penetration, ready wit, and of great modesty, integrity, and candor: also, of great prudence, liberality, and ardent piety, and in his search after truth, careful and thorough. He was, withal, much respected by all the truly pious of whatever denomination." Mr. Prince was at Leyden nearly a century after his death, and the aged people told him that "Mr. Robinson was held in high estimation both by the city and university for his learning, piety, and moderation; and that the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and gentry mourned his death as a public loss."

Mr. Baylie, a Presbyterian, wrote with much bitterness against the Independents, but speaks thus of Mr. Robinson: "Their pastor was a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England; that the Apologies he wrote were very handsome; that he was the principal overthrower of the Brownists, and became the author of *Independency*." — *Dissuasive*, 1645. Hornius, historical professor of Leyden, who died in 1670, speaks of Mr. Robinson in his *Ecclesiastical History*, much in the same terms.

The following is from the "Works," vol. iii. p. 489: "The church at Leyden was the mother church of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. During his life and the continuance of the church at Leyden, the two societies were essentially one. The pilgrims at Plymouth did not establish a new organization: they went out, according to mutual agreement, 'as an absolute church of themselves,' already constituted, being only a branch of the church still remaining in Holland, and they continued to be essentially one in religious sentiment and ecclesiastical practices." He was their acknowledged pastor (of the pilgrims) until his death; and his letters and their records show that this was so. Both Hubbard and Hutchinson call him their pastor, and that "they continued their expectation of his immigration until his death." Poverty and the opposition of the merchant adventurers prevented it, but in 1629 the pilgrims advanced £550 to enable his family and the residue of the church to join them; which was done.*

* See page 108, note.

Mr. Robinson's weight of character gave him a *moral power* in his church which produced, or was well calculated to produce, that UNION of sentiment and affection and action, which very much promoted the success of their enterprise. Brotherly love was in them and abounded, so that they were always ready to bear one another's burdens. All their history attests this. Their faith and their practice were the same in every member. During their twelve years of exile, we hear not of a single outbreak. Other neighboring exiled churches had collisions, and to avoid being involved in the evil consequences, this church early removed to Leyden. To shame their own people, the magistrates said, "These English have lived among us these ten years, and yet we have never had any suit or accusation against them, and they have *lived in harmony among themselves.*" — *Mem.* Mr. Robinson says, "We are knit together in a body in a most strict and sacred covenant, of the violation of which we make great conscience, by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by every, and so mutual, and it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage." — *Life*, p. 40. They were agreed in their last pilgrimage, and the want of means alone prevented the contemporaneous embarkation of the whole church. The subsequent history of the church will give evidence of the continuance of this "Unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace," when the whole church were in Plymouth. Hubbard says, (speaking of the order of their worship before they settled a pastor,) "the Plymouth people well understood their own principles; they were a serious, religious people, who knew the way of their worship, and were resolved upon it." — p. 65.

Mr. Bernard, in his book against Mr. Robinson's course, says, "The ill success of independency in having no more increase, was an argument against it." To which Mr. Robinson answers, in almost a prophetic spirit, "Religion is not always sown and reaped in one age; 'one soweth and another reapeth.' The many that are already gathered into the kingdom of Jesus Christ, by the mercy of God, and the nearness of many more through the land, *do promise, within less than an hundred years*, if our sins and theirs make not us and them unworthy of his mercy, a very plenteous harvest." — vol. ii. p. 66.

"The prediction was verified. One hundred years passed, and the great principles Robinson contended for, had spread through England and a considerable portion of America." — *Life*, p. 74. It is not now, perhaps, too much to say that there are, at the present time, at least ten thousand churches gathered upon the Congregational polity,

about four thousand of which are in Great Britain. Rev. John Cotton said in view of the same suggestion of Bernard, "the Lord increase them an hundred, yea a thousand fold, and make them as the stars of heaven for multitude." — *Way*, etc., 11. We have already hopeful indications of a full answer to this prayer, and "of the establishment of spiritual and voluntary churches throughout the world."

Rev. Dr. Allen says, "It is but truth to say that many tens of thousands of Christian men hold the name of Robinson in honorable remembrance. He yet lives by his example and by the influence of his sacrifices and toils; and in the third century after his death, he enjoys the singular distinction of being equally honored in the east and the west, in two countries separated by a mighty ocean." — *Life*, 75. "A good book is the precious lifeblood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a *life beyond life*." — *Milton*. Before proceeding to give Mr. Robinson's views in detail, we feel constrained to make the following extracts in proof of his candor, catholicism, and entire freedom from all bigotry and bands of human invention. He says (vol. iii. 103), "had my persuasion in it (the truth he had been contending for) been fuller than ever it was, I profess myself always one of them, who still desire to learn further, what the good will of God is." But his parting words to the pilgrims, as given by Gov. Winslow (in *Prince*, 175), should always be borne in remembrance by those who would understand his true character, and who themselves would be free from the chains of human inventions and dogmatism. "He charged us before God to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal any thing to us, by any other instrument of His, to be ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans could not go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's word he had further revealed to Calvin, they had rather die than embrace it; and so you see the *Calvinists*, they stick where he left them. A misery much to be lamented. For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them, and were they now alive, they would be as ready to receive further light as that they had received. He also put us in mind of our church covenant, whereby we engaged with God and one

another, to receive whatever light or truth should be made known to us from his written word, but withal exhorted us to take heed what we receive for truth; and well to examine, compare and weigh it with other Scriptures before we receive it. For it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once." * Though a believer in the infallibility of the Scriptures, he did not believe in the infallibility of human interpretations.

Upon which Mr. Prince remarks, "Words almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry which prevailed in the English nation; wherein this truly great and learned man seems to be almost the only divine who was capable of rising into a noble freedom of thinking and practising in religious matters, and even of using such an equal liberty on his own people. He labors to take them off from their attachment to him, that they might be the more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures." Mr. Prince proceeds:—

"But as Mr. Robinson and his church were of the same mind, and always lived in great harmony and unity, I shall here give a summary of their main principles from their published writings.

I. They were in the sentiments, which since, the famous Mr. Chillingworth tells us that, after a long study, he also came into; that is to say, that the inspired Scriptures only contain the true religion; and especially, nothing is to be accounted the Protestant religion, respecting either faith or worship, but what is taught in them; as also in the same sentiments which the celebrated Bishop Hoadly and many other great men have so nobly defended, as the right of human nature, as the very basis of the reformation, and indeed of all sincere religion,—that every man has the right of judging for himself, of trying doctrines by them, and of worshipping according to his apprehension of the meaning of them.

II. As to faith and the holy sacraments, they believed the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, as also of the Reformed Churches of Scotland, Ireland, France, the Palatinate, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces, to be agreeable to the Holy oracles; allowing all the pious members of these churches communion with them, and differing from them only in matters purely ecclesiastical.

III. As to ecclesiastical matters, they held the following articles to be agreeable to Scripture and reason:—

* More full in Mather, p. 14.

1. That no particular church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently watch one over another, and usually meet and worship in one congregation.

2. That every particular church of Christ is only to consist of such as appear to believe in him and obey him.

3. That any competent number of such, when their consciences oblige them, have a right to embody into a church for their mutual edification.

4. That this embodying is by some certain contract or covenant either expressed or implied; though it ought to be by the former.

5. That being embodied, they have a right to choose all their officers.

6. That the officers appointed by Christ for his embodied church, are, in some respects, of three sorts, in others but two. First, Pastors or teaching Elders, who have the power of overseeing, teaching, administering the sacraments, and ruling too; and being chiefly to giving themselves to studying, teaching, and the spiritual care of the flock, are therefore to be maintained. Second, mere Ruling Elders,* who are to help the pastors in overseeing and ruling; that their officers be not temporary, as among the Dutch and French churches, but continual; also, being qualified in some degree to teach, they are to teach only occasionally, through necessity, or in their pastor's absence or illness, but being not to give themselves to study or teaching, they have no need of maintenance. The elders of both sorts form the Presbytery of overseers and rulers, which should be in every particular church, and are in Scripture sometimes called presbyters or elders, sometimes bishops or overseers, sometimes guides, and sometimes rulers. Third, Deacons, who are to take care of the poor; the church's treasure; to distribute for the support of the pastor, the supply of the needy, the propagation of religion, and to minister at the Lord's table.

7. That these officers, being chosen and ordained, have no lordly, arbitrary, or imposing power, but can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren, who ought not in contempt to be called the laity, but to be treated as men and brethren in Christ, not as slaves or minors.

* It will be seen subsequently that "*mere* ruling elders," is a mistake. None were chosen who were not "*apt to teach*," both in the consistory and the assembly.

8. That no churches or church officers whatever have any power over any other church or officers, to control or impose upon them; but are all equal in their rights and privileges, and ought to be independent in the exercise and enjoyment of them.

9. As to church administrations, they held that baptism is a seal of the covenant of grace, and should be dispensed only to visible believers, with their unadult children, and this in primitive purity, as in the times of Christ and his apostles, without the sign of the cross or any other invented ceremony; that the Lord's Supper should be received as it was at first, even in Christ's immediate presence, in the table posture; that the elders should not be restrained from praying in public as well as private, according to the various occasions continually offering from the word of Providence, and no set form should be imposed on any; that excommunication should be wholly spiritual, a mere rejecting the scandalous from the communion of the church in the holy sacraments and those other spiritual privileges which are peculiar to the faithful, and that the church or its officers have no authority to inflict any penalties of a temporal nature.

10. As for holy days, they were very strict for the observation of the Lord's day, in a pious memorial of the incarnation, birth, death, resurrection, ascension, and benefits of Christ; as also solemn fastings and thanksgivings, as the state of Providence requires; but all other times not prescribed in Scripture, they utterly relinquished. And as, in general, they could not conceive any thing a part of Christ's religion which he has not required, they therefore renounced all human right of inventing, and much less of imposing it upon others.

These were the main principles of that scriptural and religious liberty; for which this people suffered in England, fled to Holland, traversed the ocean, and sought a dangerous retreat in this remote and savage desert of North America, that here they might fully enjoy them, and leave them to their last posterity." — *Prince*, 176–179.

This summary is far from being a complete account of Mr. Robinson's views of the proper order of the church. We have looked into his works, just now printed, but a small part of which had probably been read by Mr. Prince, and state several particulars in detail.

POWER OF THE CHURCH AND OF THE ELDERS.

This subject is interesting as matter of ecclesiastical history, as exhibiting the views of this, in some sense, "the Father" * of our order, and because some still hold that the whole power of the bench of elders has devolved upon the pastor.

Robinson says, "The Papists place the ruling power in the Pope, the Episcopalians in the bishop, the Puritan [Presbyterian] in the Presbytery — we put it in the body of the congregation, the multitude, called the church. We profess the elders to be the ordinary governors in the church, only we may not acknowledge them to be "lords over God's heritage,"—controlling all, and to be controlled by none. The eldership, like other ordinances, is given for the service of the church, and the elders the servants of the church. It is one thing to govern the church, and another thing to be the church. The people's obedience to the elders consists in receiving their instructions, admonitions, exhortations, and consolations, and the elder's government, not in erecting any tribunal seat, or throne of judgment, but in exhorting, teaching, improving, and comforting them by the word of God."— *Works*, ii. 7-144.

"In admitting members on their professions, and censuring incorrigible offenders, we leave the execution of these things to the elders, but deny plainly that it can be done without the people's privity and consent. It appertains to the elders to govern the people in their voting, and to the church freely to vote in the elections and judgment of the church; the external government is to be administered by the elders."— *Works*, iii. 37-43.

"In all the acts of the church the brethren join with the elders, and are one and the same body."— *Works*, ii. 449.

Hanbury says, Robinson holds that the "elders rule by consent of the church. They are set over them for their guidance, as the steward over the house, or watchman over the city."

"A company of faithful people, in the covenant of the Gospel, is a church, though without officers; and this church hath an interest in all the holy things of God *within itself*, without any *foreign assistance*, and any private brother in such a church may do a necessary work of an officer. Where there are already officers, by and to which others

* So called by Neal and Buck.

are called, there the officers are to ordain the latter." — *Works*, ii. 240.

According to the Cambridge Platform, the church chooses and deposes its own officers, ministers as well as others, and when convenient, neighbor churches are to be advised with. (See chap. 8.) This agrees with the expressed views of Robinson. But sec. 11 provides that "in an organic church and right administration, all acts proceed after the manner of a mixed administration, so as no act can be consummated or perfected without the consent of both." (The body of the church and the elders.)

This last provision has been the subject of much discussion and some litigation. The appropriate power of the elders was strongly agitated in the exiled churches in Holland, in Robinson's time, and became the cause of the separation of Johnson and Ainsworth, two distinguished pastors. Robinson and his church were consulted on the subject, and thus advised: "If it please the Lord so far to enlarge your hearts on both sides, brethren, as that this *middle way* be had, namely, that the matter of offence be first brought for order, preparation, and prevention of unnecessary trouble, *unto the elders*, as the church governors, (though it is like we, for our parts, shall not so practice in this particular,) and after, if things be not ended, *to the church of elders and brethren*, there to be judged, until it please the God of wisdom and Father of lights to manifest otherwise for our joint accord — it would make for the glory of God." The advice did not prevail, and Ainsworth* and his friends gathered a new church which held to the views of Robinson. — *Han.* i. 343. Johnson† held to the *authoritative* power of the elders, but the others held that they could do no valid act without the consent of the church, and when matters were before the church, they voted with the brethren, and had no official privilege. It was objected by his antagonist that this was a *democracy* (a form of government very objectionable in those times), to which Mr. Robinson replied that it might be considered as an *aristocracy*, as the elders, by their age and gravity and official station, would be likely to have the respect and assent of the church. — See *Hist. Cong.* 337.

As Rev. John Cotton was one of the best writers on church polity, and as he has been supposed to differ with Robinson on this subject, it may be best to give his views pretty fully; and certainly he did

* See *Works*, iii. 462.

† *Ibid.* 441.

differ with him in 1636, when he wrote his letter to Lord Say and Seal. — *Hutch.* i. App. It seems his Lordship had written to him his fears of this democracy. But says Cotton, "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government for church or commonwealth. Though it be a *status popularis*, where they choose their own governors, yet "the government is not a democracy, if not administered by the people, but by the governors; if many, an aristocracy, which even Mr. Robinson admits." (But Mr. Robinson's is an admission only of the *word*, not the *thing*. — *Supra.*) He probably wrote "The Keys" not long after, although the book was not printed till 1644, by reason of the difficulty of a license. Baillie, a presbyterian minister, answered "The Keys," and says, "If you call yourself a *Congregationalist*, because you give jurisdiction and censure to every particular congregation, though *this was the way of Robinson* and Ainsworth, you revoke all this, putting into the hands of the eldership the whole jurisdiction. The style, 'Congregational,' seems not rightly appropriated to them who have destroyed the Congregational way and turned it into presbyterial." — *Han.* iii. 416.

Baillie read "The Keys" as others have read them, and as Mr. Cotton's editors (Goodwin and Nye, then standard-bearers for independency in England), read the same book — making the church a real *aristocracy*. In their preface to "The Keys," they disagree with him, and give an extended account of their own views, which do not much vary from Robinson's. They thus write: "The right disposal of power in the church may be in due and proportional allotment and dispersion, though not in the same measure and degree, into divers hands, according to the several concerns and interests the church may have, rather than entire and sole trust committed to any one man, or any one sort or kind of men or officers." This is rather enigmatical; but see what follows: "The power of this censure of excommunication is inseparably linked by Christ unto a *particular congregation*, as the people's natural privilege thereof, so as no assembly or company of elders should assume it to themselves, or sever the power thereof from them." They compare the elders to a judge, who pronounces the sentence after the jury have found the accused guilty. But in 1645 was printed Mr. Cotton's "Way of the Churches," and here he coincides entirely with Mr. Robinson, and also adopts the sentiments and even language of the editors of the Keys. His reasons for allowing the church so much power are founded on Matth. 18: 17. "We cannot find throughout the New Testament that the word *church* is taken otherwise than for the society and congregation of the

faithful, unless it be *once*, where it is taken for a civil assembly, but never for a bishop, counsel, or archdeacon, nor for an assembly of presbyters; the consistory is a word unheard of there, nor are any complaints directed thither, unless to prepare them for the hearing or judgment of the church. Nor are any censures of the church committed to presbyters alone, to be administered by them, though they are to be administered by them in the presence and by the *consent of the church*. When a whole multitude is associated in a body, any offence may be orderly and ordinarily told unto them by a complaint. The promise of binding in heaven what the church bindeth on earth, pertaineth to the ratifying of the censure by the whole church mentioned in the verse before. He appeals also to the practice at Corinth, 1 Cor. 4: 5."

"The church are governed by the elders so long as they rule well. But in case they err or commit offence, they shall be governed by the whole church. The power of the keys was given to Peter, not as an apostle, or as an elder, but as a professed believer, in the name of a believer, whereupon the binding and loosing, which is the power of the keys, is attributed to the whole church."

"When the censure is said to be by *common consent*, we mean that we do not carry matters either by the overruling power of the presbytery or the consent of the major part of the church, but by the *general and joint consent of all the members of the church*, as becometh the Church of God." — *Way of the Church*, in *Han.* ii. 560–572.

It has been said that Mr. Cotton's sentiments are probably not fairly given in this "Way, etc." and that his friends in England to whom the publication was intrusted, changed his phraseology. But the book was very sharply answered and criticized by a writer, "*Vindiciæ clavium*," (pp. 90; London, 1645,) and Mr. Cotton was therein pointedly charged with having changed his sentiments in respect to the power of the elders, and that his editors, in the prefatory epistle, approve of it, and now begin to applaud themselves as jumping in judgment with the author."

Mr. Cotton replies (*Way of the Churches cleared*) in 1648, p. 74, London, and in this he does not complain that the "Way, etc." expresses any thing contrary to his opinions, but on the contrary defends and justifies the whole; does not admit that it is inconsistent with "the Keys;" agrees with St. Augustine that "Peter received the keys in the name of the church;" and moreover adds, "it is no matter of calumny, if, in some later tractate, I should retract or express more commodiously what I wrote in a former less safely." — *Han.* ii. 280–284.

Here then, certainly, is a perfect agreement. Robinson says, "in all the acts of the church, the brethren *join with the elders*, and are *one and the same body*." — *Supra*.

Cotton says, "We mean that we do not carry matters by the overruling power of the presbytery or the consent of the major part of the church, but by the *general and joint consent of all*." So that Hubbard (Hist. N. E.) lost his joke when he said "the Separatists drown the elder's government by the vote of the brethren, being contented that the elders should sit in the saddle if they could hold the bridle;" seeming to think Mr. Cotton had invented a "middle way," a way found by Robinson many years before. This matter has been explained by one of our eminent divines. "When Mr. Cotton wrote 'the Keys,' democracy had not ceased to be a scarecrow; the archbishop (Laud) was only chained and might be let loose. When he wrote the 'Way of the Churches,' parliament 'held the reins and set also in the saddle,' and the analogy to the 'King, Lords, and Commons,' upon which he framed his 'elderhood and brotherhood' was crumbling to pieces. The church was about to be left 'without a bishop, and the state without a king;' the aristocracy also, was nearly overthrown, and shortly after, wholly so. It has been believed, and is probably true, that on this change of the government in the mother country, the eldership began to be of no account in the churches, and was so low at the restoration, that it never *could be*, as it never *needed to be*, revived."

Rev. John Wise, the accredited expounder of the Platform, says, "Tell it to the church, — *means the whole body of the church*. Let the objector produce one text more in which it means the *officers* of the church, and I will resign." Rev. Dr. Whitaker, a minister in Salem, of the Presbyterian order, replied in a large pamphlet, and says, "I will give up the controversy, if Mr. Wise is right in this;" and though he cites Hebrew verses from the Old Testament, he cites none from the New Testament in which it is so used, although it is said it is to be found therein about two hundred times. Dr. Whitaker says there were Presbyterians in the Cambridge Synod who disagreed to the report of the Committee and were about to withdraw, and the transcendent power of the eldership was inserted to prevent a separation, so that "the platform has a double face, and looks two ways." Since the time of John Cotton, there is no danger in calling things by their true names, and *democracy* is now admitted to be the right word to characterize the government of a Congregational church. Indeed, Cotton himself admits that "in respect to the people's power in choos-

ing officers, and *joint* power with the officers in admitting members and censuring offenders, the church is a *democracy*." — *Way*, etc. 100. And Coleman cites Neander and other writers who describe the primitive church government as *democratic*, p. 45–47. And although Robinson was cautious in saying so, yet by holding and declaring that the "proper subject of the power of Christ was in the people, the multitude of the church," (*supra*,) he could not have better described a *democracy*. Coleman says, "the sovereign power is in the people, the government of the primitive church was altogether popular, the ministers were their servants and not their lords." — iii. 227. The Platform indeed speaks the same language (chap. 8, sec. 2). "If the church have power to choose their own officers and ministers, they have power to depose them." Distinguished divines and large and respectable councils have in our day advanced the same views. Some very worthy divines have contended that, as by the provision of the platform (*supra*) nothing could be done without the consent of the elders, as the power of the elders has been consolidated in the pastor, he may well be considered as having the power of stopping the action of the church when he will by what is called *his veto*, forbidding further proceedings. But the elders themselves were but servants of the church, and certainly ecclesiastical history furnishes no evidence of the claim. President Styles says, "Some have made this claim, but, except being moderator, the pastor has but the authority of a private brother according to the true principles of Congregationalism, and the churches would not bear the negative of the eldership." — *Con. Ser.* 64–68.

A claim of this sort was made in our Supreme Judicial Court sixty or seventy years ago, and promptly overruled. — *Hist. Coll.* v. 45.

It was said the provisions of the platform had been superseded by the constitution of 1780. However this may be, it is now held, and been so advised by an ecclesiastical council, convoked from various parts of the State, and composed of highly respectable ministers and delegates from the churches, that the pastor has no veto power whatever, positive or qualified, upon the proceedings of the church, and that, as moderator, if he refuses to declare the votes and resolves of the church, they may dismiss him from the chair and appoint another.

It was certainly a mistake in Mr. Prince to conclude that Mr. Robinson's polity provided for the office of mere ruling elders. Such may have been the practice in some churches in Massachusetts, but not in his church. In his letter to Elder Brewster, (*Chr. Pil.*) he

says expressly, that none were to be chosen to that office but such as are "apt to teach." And see his Apology, chap. 4, "We require that all received into the college or company of elders, even those who are called governors, should be 'apt to teach,' and able to exhort with sound doctrine, and convince gainsayers, not only in the consistory, but in the assembly also, as the nature of their public office requires." — *Works*, iii. 28. The eighth article of the Independents in England, may well be considered as the matured policy of Robinson, which was certainly adopted in their churches. The only officers placed over the church are bishops, or pastors, (another name for elders,) and deacons. The number of these depends upon the numbers of the church, and they rule "subject to the approbation of the church." — *Han.* iii. 600. This will be further manifest in the history of the Plymouth Church. — *Infra*.

In process of time, one teacher, pastor, or elder, educated for the ministry, was found in general to be sufficient, and all the duties of rule, guidance, government, and general superintendence of the affairs of the church, might well be performed by him, with the advice of a committee, annually chosen; the executive duties, such as governing the church at its meetings, and executing the acts and resolves of the church, are indeed better performed by a single elder, or pastor, than by a college, or collective board of elders.

About the year 1705, the ruling eldership having become obsolete and almost extinct in Massachusetts, a very strenuous attempt was made to revive it, headed by Rev. John Wise, "himself a host." But the churches perceived no necessity or expediency in the measure, and it wholly failed, and for the last hundred years but one church, it is thought, has had such an officer. The last ruling elder in the Leyden-Plymouth Church, Thomas Faunce, died in 1755, aged ninety-nine years, having been in that office more than fifty years, and his "good report" is in the churches at the present time.

We take much pleasure in adding to this view "of the power of the church and the elders," the argument of Lord Brooke in 1642, who, next to John Milton, was the most distinguished Independent of his time, and whom Milton himself characterizes as "a right noble and pious lord, and his words most mild and powerful." He thus argues upon Matt. 18:15, 16, 17 — "By thee (verse 17) is not meant only the party (complainant) but every Christian, every church member to whom the news of this miscarriage shall come; otherwise the offender should be a 'publican' to one of the church and not to another. If he be so to every member of the church, this will be a hard case; if a

bishop, or an elder, one or more, shall pass the sentence of excommunication, he must be so, a 'publican,' to me also, though I know nothing of it. But some will say, That must be done before the church. To which I answer, The word saith not so; and thus those who misexpound the Scripture eke out Scripture to make good their own imagination. But why should it be complained of before the church if the deciding power be in the officers? *Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora.* It seems to me against all reason that the party deputed (the elders) should have power, the party deputing (the church) being present. Surely, the whole church being present, four or five shall not, by God's law, rule all, seeing God's law never appoints any standing laws against the rules of nature. 'A publican,' 'a heathen,' the most odious of men — can any Christian be to any Christian the most odious of men for the sentence of a judge whom he never heard, neither hath any right to hear? Thus if you bound (limit) the word, either by text or context, or the common acceptance of it in the Scripture, by the 'church' must be understood the whole congregation."

He also shows that, according to 1 Cor. 5 : 13, and 2 Cor. 2 : 5-8, Paul commanded the whole church to put away the wicked person, and they, the whole church, forgive and restore him. — *Han.* ii. 128.

ORDINATION.

Plat. ch. 9, sec. 1, 3, 4. "Church officers are not only chosen by the church, but also to be ordained by the imposition of hands and prayer. In such churches, where there are elders, imposition of hands to be performed by the elders; in churches where there are no elders, imposition of hands may be performed by some of the brethren orderly chosen by the church thereto."

This is the exact view of Mr. Robinson; "he constantly insisted that this was a church act," and says, he himself was ordained by the church. — *Life*, 30. "The power of making ministers is in the church; to be ordained by the imposition of hands by the fit instruments which they have."* — *Letter, Chr. Pil.* 66; *Works*, ii. 445.

* "If the church may elect, they may also ordain officers; if it have officers, it must use them as hands to put the persons, by ordination, into that office." — *Works*, ii. 445.

So in the declaration and articles of Jacob and others of the Southwark church: "The officers are solemnly set apart by fasting and prayer by the imposition of the hands of the eldership of that church, if there be any." — *Han.* i. 295.

The Pilgrims regarded the right as primarily and solely in the church. And when ministers do ordain, it is because they are invited and appointed by the church to do it. Ordination is nothing more than installing a man into office.

July 20, 1629. The first church in Salem chose and ordained Mr. Skelton for pastor, and Mr. Higginson, teacher, "they, accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith; this being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii. 67.

Mr. Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, was first ordained in Charlestown, July 30, 1630, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren. — *Al. Biog. Dict.*

Oct. 10, 1633. Rev. John Cotton was ordained teacher in Boston by the imposition of hands, by Mr. Wilson, pastor, and the elders. — *Ibid.*

These instances might be multiplied, but they are sufficient instances of the exercise of the *right*. But Congregationalism does not exclude counsel or help, on these or other occasions; on the contrary, the propriety of asking and giving advice from and to neighbor churches, was admitted by Robinson; and it is now thought the best order of our churches to take advice in most cases, as will next be shown. But councils, on these occasions, according to our early records, were careful to do nothing, as councils, but to seek for the best lights, and give advice to those who called them as to what should be best to be done, and the manner of performance. I might add, that Mr. Hooke was so ordained at Taunton. — *Hutch.* i. 374; *T. Min.* i. 374; *Al. Biog. Dict.* Mr. Hooker was ordained in like manner at Newtown. Hubbard says "this is according to the subsequent practice in New England." — 189.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS.

Mr. Robinson and his church were twice called upon, (and perhaps often,) to give advice to other churches, and attended to the call and

gave their advice. One instance has been mentioned, namely, on the question of the power of the elders, to Ainsworth and Johnson, the one pastor, and the other teacher, of the church at Amsterdam, who disagreed on this subject, as did the brethren. The letter, missive, and advice are in *Works*, iii. 467, 468.

Another instance of his being called on for advice, was from the church in London, and the advice is contained in the letter to that church; by which it appears that the churches at Leyden and Amsterdam were sent to, and the advice they gave is very important. — *Han.* i. 448. It seems to have then been unsettled, and was so for some time in Massachusetts, in what manner this advice should be given, whether by the whole church or its leading members, by representation, or by volunteers from the body.

But here is a sufficient indication of his views on this subject, (*Works*, ii. 209): “May not the officers of one or many churches meet together to discuss and consider of matters for the good of the church or churches? I deny it not, so they infringe no order of Christ, or the liberty of the brethren.”

Jacob, pastor of the church in London, who was with Mr. Robinson in Leyden, no doubt expressed *his* views, as well as his own and his brethren, in the declaration of ecclesiastical principles in 1616, which provides “for councils of neighbor churches in case of persons feeling injured by the censures of the church.” — *Art.* 26; *Han.* i. 295.

Questionless, the convocation of councils is the “keystone,” the great conservative branch of Congregationalism; but they were seldom called when the churches were few and widely separated. Luther perceived difficulties in establishing independent churches, which, at first, he was disposed to do. But when the converts became numerous, he feared their weakness, and doubted their sufficiency to govern themselves; but Mr. Robinson’s church were a serious, religious, well informed and discreet people, and their capacity for self-government was manifest. But there were dissensions in the other exiled churches, and it was soon apparent that neighborly advice was proper and even necessary. Neal says, “He allowed councils for advice, but not for exercising authority or jurisdiction.” — *Hist. N. E.* i. 71.

He held that a council could not ordain or dismiss a pastor or other church officer, and in this agree R. Mather, Cotton, and other congregational writers. Mather says, “It is the practice to call in the aid of other churches, but not lawful or convenient to call such assistance by way of power or authority of ministers or other churches.” Cotton

maintains that ordination is the work of the church, and should not be parted with. — *Way*, 50.

Dr. Goodwin says, "It should be with the privity and knowledge of neighbor churches, but that, when assembled, they have not the power of the ordination or deposition of a minister, but as agents of the church." — *Ch. Gov.* 229. And such was the practice of the early churches, and the records of the Plymouth and neighboring churches express the ordinations, dismissions, and depositions of ministers as "the act of the church by the advice of the council." It is now understood that orderly Congregationalism requires the advice of a council, in the organization of churches, the ordination, dismissal, and deposition of ministers, and in all cases where serious difficulties arise. But in the discipline of their members, the churches have always been jealous of their own power and privilege, and much inclined to refuse joining with a member in convoking a council. This has caused the system of *ex parte* councils to be ingrafted upon the congregational stock. Indeed, the progress of society, and the democratic character of the churches, are such that such councils have become absolutely necessary for the protection of ministers, and the rights of private members; so that, if they could not convene *ex parte* councils, on the refusal of the church to join in mutual councils, our system would be a dangerous one. The right has come to be considered as fundamental; for experience has proved that the churches are liable to prejudice, and may put the members in bondage without just cause; so that it was feared people might refrain from joining them, if no redress was provided. There is now a tribunal before which a minister or member may vindicate himself from the effects of these sudden outbreaks, the exercise of this high-church prerogative of irresponsible censure, whenever it falls upon him.

But a moral remedy only — a vindication of character, is all that our polity provides. If the church (or a neighbor church), is satisfied with the vindication, he may again be a communicant; otherwise not. But still, if the vindication is clear, the remedy may be, in a great measure, satisfactory; and when excitement subsides, the wound may be healed. In order that the end may be well attained, such councils should act with great circumspection — should have in their possession every fact and document, and have time for calm, careful, dispassionate examination, both of facts and principles, resulting in serious, brotherly, and Christian advice, well argued and sustained by the best reasons. When this is done, it seldom fails of securing the remedy which is sought to be attained by our system, whether it be

the vindication of the party, or of the church. All troubles are not even then, immediately healed or quieted; but the good moral consequences of "results" arrived at by the measures here stated, well sustained by reason, have ultimately been manifest. So general have been these consequences, that our churches are well satisfied with this manner of relieving grievances. But insulated cases do occur when *ex parte* councils are not patient and impartial, as they should be, and all the desired good does not come of them. But all wrong cannot be righted in this world, and our churches much prefer this "Way," to the authoritative discipline of the Presbyterians.*

We have seen, of late, no sounder view of this subject than that which is given by Rev. Dr. Vaughan of England, in a book entitled "Congregationalism, or the polity of the Independent Churches." (London, 1842.) "Every such church is strictly independent of all uninspired authority, in the conduct of its worship, the admission of its members, the exercise of its discipline, the choice of its officers, and the entire management of its affairs. It is not left to any church or to any body of churches, to make laws in respect to religion, but to study the law of the Christian dispensation, and to carry it into effect. Our province is purely executive. This independence of particular churches is the centre principle, the great principle of Congregationalism. The administrative power in each church is the voice of the majority.

"This does not of course preclude the moral influence that may be exercised by some ministers or churches with regard to others, inasmuch as that is a sort of power which comes into existence with all our social relations, and cannot be excluded from them. The wise and good will ever carry with them the moral weight of wisdom and goodness. A man does not surrender his independence by deferring to the counsels of a friend, nor by acting with his fellows in favor of a common object, according to plans agreed upon consistent with the liberty of their common principles."

These principles are identical with those long before held and preached by an American divine: "One church is neither superior nor inferior to another in point of authority; but every church is entirely independent. There is no other necessary bond of union between individual churches, but brotherly love. This all Christian churches ought to exercise towards one another. All churches are sisters, and stand upon a level."

* See, on this subject, Dr. Bacon's Manual, 143-148.

COVENANT.

A covenant, or confederation, according to all the Congregational fathers, is what constitutes a church, and a person a member of it; it may be in writing, or verbal, implicit or explicit. According to Mr. Robinson, "a separation from the world into the fellowship of the gospel and covenant of Abraham, is a true church, truly gathered, though ever so weak." — *Han.* i. 214. Governor Bradford writes that the church of which he [Robinson] was pastor, was formed of persons, "whose hearts were touched with heavenly zeal for his truth, who shook off the yoke of antichristian bondage, and joined themselves, by a covenant of the Lord, into a church state, in the fellowship of the gospel, 'to walk in his ways made known and to be made known unto them,' according to their best endeavors." — *Chron. Pil.* 21.

The covenant of the First Church in Salem, which was formed in 1629, under the advice of the Plymouth church, was of the same import, with the addition of some articles of discipline. The covenant entered into by the Charlestown church in 1630, is given *in terms*, by Mr. Drake, in his History of Boston, p. 93, and this was the foundation of the First Church in Boston. And this is the substance of the church covenant as now generally understood and received. "It is an agreement and resolution professed, with promise to walk in all those ways pertaining to this fellowship, so far as they shall be revealed to them in the gospel." (See Articles of faith and covenant at the close of this article.) — *Cong. Dict. Cov.*

Henry Jacob, pastor of the first Independent Church in England (1616), and as has been mentioned, the pupil and coadjutor of Robinson, says, "a church is a number of faithful people, joined, by their *willing consent* in a spiritual outward society, having the power of ecclesiastical government, etc., and he and others formed that church by joining hands and covenanting, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways and ordinances, according as he has already revealed, or should further make known to them;" an exact Robinsonian covenant. See *Robinson's Works*, iii. p. 439, and on.

BAPTISM.

Mr. Robinson held to baptism by sprinkling, and defends it at much length and with much power. He holds that Baptism does not make one a member of the church, but this is done by covenant only. *Works*, iii. 180, and on.

He argues at much length against rebaptizing, and says, although there should be official persons to administer baptism, "and although that baptism which is performed in mockery and in sport be nothing, yet if it be done *seriously*, both by him who administers it and by him who receives it, or as a religious action, it is a valid baptism. As an oath, which, if taken in jest, bindeth not at all, but if taken in earnest and for a lawful thing, bindeth him that took it. If a Jew 'put away' for his profaneness, had afterwards chosen the Lord God of Israel to be his God, should he therefore be recircumcised? And if a man be cast out of the true church for impenitence and notorious sin, was not his baptism true baptism? The *outward* baptism, administered in an apostate church, is false baptism in the administration of it, and yet is in itself, and in its own nature, a spiritual ordinance, though abused, and the spiritual uses thereof cannot be had without repentance, by which repentance and the after baptism of the Spirit, it is sanctified. There may be the *outward* thing, for *substance done*, where there is no lawful administration. If the washing of water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of a fit person by a lawful minister, in a lawful communion and manner, be true baptism, truly and lawfully administered; then is washing with water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, by an unlawful minister, of an unfit subject, and in an unsanctified communion and manner,—*true baptism* unlawfully and falsely administered. The thing done is the same in both." The subject is discussed in almost every possible view of the matter, and all the arguments *per contra*, taken up and answered. See *Rob. Works*, iii. 180–190 and *passim*.

FREE OR OCCASIONAL COMMUNION.

Robinson says, "Touching the Reformed Churches, we account them true churches of Jesus Christ, and both profess and practice

communion with them; the sacraments we do administer to their members — if, by occasion, any of them be present with us. Our faith is not negative, nor consists in condemning others, and wiping out their names from the beadroll of churches; neither require we of any of ours contest with the Church of England, *whatever the world clamors of us this way.* — *Apology*, passim. Jacob, his coadjutor in England, held the same views, as also did the Independents in the Westminster Assembly. — *Han.* i. 230; ii. 223, 224.

Mr. Taylor (*Vind. Dissenters*, 75) says, “A Christian is *obliged* to hold occasional communion, unless he live like a heathen a year, in the place where he sojourns.”

There is, perhaps, too much jealousy in our churches on this subject; a kind of *false fear*, that improper communicants will be present at the sacraments. It should be remembered, as Robinson did, that a good man may be a member of a corrupt church; (which is yet a church, an *esse*, though not a *bene esse*, as Lord Say says, *supra*.) that an occasional communicant is present on *his own responsibility*, and that we should “hope all things” in his favor.

THE EXERCISE OF PROPHECY.

In the early part of the Reformation, it was usual for any persons present, so disposed, “to prophesy,” that is to say, to give a word of exhortation to the assembly. As the converts became organized into churches, and the order of the meetings began to be established, “prophesying, or speaking to the edification of the whole church,” was subjected to the rule of the elder or overseer of the meeting. Mr. Robinson, having been charged with encouraging every member of the church “to prophesy,” says “this service comes within the compass but of a few of the multitude; happily but two or three in each of our churches. We think the very same that the Synod decreed at Embdem in 1571. 1. In all our churches, let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul’s institution. 2. Into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted, not only ministers, but the teachers too, as well also as the elders and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, which are willing to confer their gift, received of God, to the common utility of the church; but so as they be allowed by the judgment of the ministers and others.” — *Rob. Works*, iii. 55.

“The officers, after their ordinary teaching, signify and exhort

unto the use of the like liberty, and so as occasion is, open and explain things obscure and doubtful, reprove things unsound and impertinent, and so moderate, order, and determine the whole exercise by the word of God."

This exercise was allowed by John Knox in the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, as being for the comfort and edification of the church.—*Knox's Hist. Ref.* p. 525.

It was also practised by Calvin at Geneva. — *Han.* i. 544.

The manner of this exercise is well illustrated by an extract from the journal of Gov. Winthrop. In 1631, being at Plymouth (with others from Boston, and attending the meeting there,) he says, "In the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams (the teacher) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly, then Mr. Williams prophesied, and after, the Governor of Plymouth; after him, the elder (Mr. Brewster); then two or three of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson (a minister who was with him), which they did."

In 1642, Mr. Cotton published a tract called "True Constitution of a particular visible Church," in which he says, "Before prophesying, it will be seasonable to sing a psalm, and some of the teachers of the church to read the word, and therewith to preach it, by giving the sense and applying the same. When there be more prophets, as pastors and teachers, they may prophesy, two and three; and, if the time permit, the elders may call upon any of the brethren, whether of the same church or any other, to speak a word of exhortation to the people; and it may be lawful for the better edifying of a man's self, for any, young or old, save only women, to ask questions at the mouth of of the prophets." See in *Han.* ii. 156. He justifies this in his answer to Bailey, p. 27.

In 1644, Gov. Winthrop records, "Went on foot to Agawam, and because they wanted a minister, spent the Sabbath with them and exercised by way of prophecy." He also records, 1631, "Divers of the congregation met at the governor's, when Mr. Wilson (the pastor) praying and exhorting the congregation to love, etc., commended to them the exercise of prophecy," p. 50.

Mather, having represented the Plymouth church as "Brownistical," this exercise was thought by Hubbard to be of that character, but it characterized all the Congregational churches, after it had ceased at Plymouth, when in 1643 they obtained a pastor after their own hearts.

Mr. Young says, "This religious exercise in which laymen publicly

taught and exhorted, was early practised in both the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts." — *Chr. Pil.* 419.

Drs. Goodwin and Nye, leading Independents in England, in their preface to Mr. Cotton's "Keys," say (1644), "We agree with Mr. Cotton, and conceive prophesying (speaking to the edification of the whole church), may sometimes be performed by brethren gifted, though not in office, by request of the elders in the church, occasionally, not assuming it themselves, but allowed by those in office."

Dr. Owen, speaking of this exercise at a later period, says, "Private Christians have a right to make known whatever is revealed to them by the word of God."

The converts, in the times referred to, wished to pass the most of the Sabbath in public worship. They had few religious books, the greater part of them, none, and the Bible itself was obtained with difficulty. Great difficulty also was experienced in the Plymouth church in obtaining a pastor; and the pastors themselves were willing to have assistance in holding continuous meetings for three or four hours.

BROWNISM.

The erratic course of Robert Brown, whose iniquities have been visited upon the Congregationalists, is given in the "Congregational Memorials" of Mr. Hanbury, and summarily in the third volume of Mr. Robinson's works. He must have been a resolute and intrepid man, as well as a man of considerable talent and some right views. In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth (1570), he burst upon the north of England, like a meteor. He collected some small congregations, and for his denunciations of the bishops, and the idolatrous worship of the Church of England, was imprisoned, perhaps, several times, (for, after his apostasy, he boasted that he had been in thirty-two prisons.) He passed over to Holland, collected a church there of some sort,—returned after a few years and preached again in the north of England and in Scotland, found hearers and adherents in considerable numbers, and gathered some few (what he called) churches. He was frequently imprisoned and as often liberated by the influence of his kinsman, Lord Burleigh, who, it was thought, favored his course. But, either broken down by his numerous incarcerations, or induced by "filthy lucre,"

he returned to his "mother church," and received a valuable benefice. His morals had been somewhat objectionable, and after his "return, like a dog to his vomit," they became more so. This return was in 1591, and he continued to enjoy the price of his apostasy till 1630, when he died, some say in prison, some say for beating his wife — some, for striking a constable. He published some books, which are more readable for his denunciation of all churches, except those of his own gathering, than for any certain account of his principles; though these gave some glimmering of Congregational principles. His followers either voluntarily retired, or were dispersed by the pursuivants.

When, some twelve years after the scandalous apostasy of Brown, Robinson and his church worshipped in the north of England, his name became a convenient sobriquet of the contempt with which the churchmen regarded them. "What do these feeble Brownists? That which they build, even if a fox go up, he shall break down their stone wall." They, however, became fit subjects for persecution, and the cognomen followed them in their exile and in their pilgrimage, and their posterity also almost to the present time; and not them only, but all the churches which have framed their polity on the Robinson platform. The churches of Salem and Boston, and Independents in England, have not escaped. A few historians have done them justice, but many others have followed the beaten track of the churchmen; and many probably thought they were "doing God service," by perpetuating the scandal. But the pilgrims patiently bore

"The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes;"

and might well adopt the words of Milton; "Whom you could not move by sophistical argument, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming, thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to misbelieve and deride sound doctrine and good Christianity under vile and hateful terms. We must not think it strange if our Master was called a Samaritan, that his disciples of the reformation were called Lollards, and those of our times Brownists. But my hope is, that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggled out of their faith and religion by the fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name, but will search wisely by the Scriptures into the things themselves."

Gov. Winslow says, "Mr. Robinson commanded us that we should shake off the name of Brownists, being a nickname and brand to

make the professors of religion odious to the world." — *Chr. Pil.* 397. And Robinson complains, in his Apology, that his people "were no less commonly, than contumeliously, called Brownists."

Judge Marshall, in the first edition of his *Life of Washington*, said, "An obscure sect which had acquired the name of Brownists, from the name of its founder, which had rendered itself peculiarly obnoxious by the democracy of its tenets respecting church government, had been driven by persecution to take refuge at Leyden, in Holland, where they formed a distinct society, under the care of their pastor, John Robinson." — *Life of Wash.* i. p. 89.

This was written on the authority of Dr. Robertson, a historian of some note, but a Scotch Presbyterian (or Episcopalian), who always sought for an opprobrious name for the exiles. An able reviewer of Judge Marshall's work, charges this as wrong, and not authentic history, and refers to the early historians to disprove it. The Judge, in his next edition, set the matter right.

There were Brownists in Amsterdam, and Gov. Winslow says, "They would hardly hold communion with people at Leyden." — *Prince*, 173, 174.

That the churches of Massachusetts experienced and felt the same calumny, and repelled it. — See Gov. Dudley's letter in *Chron. Mass.* p. 331, and *Holmes's Annals*.

Mr. Cotton also repels it. "If any be justly called Brownists, it is only such as revolt from separation to formality, and from thence to profaneness. Neither in whole nor in part do we partake of his schism. He separated from the churches and the saints; we, from the world, and that which is of the world." — *Ans. to Bai.* p. 14, 5, 48.

Mr. Cotton's distinguished friend, Lord Say and Seal, sets this matter right in his speech in the House of Lords. — (*Han.* ii. 136.) "Their (the Brownists) failing in this, they hold there is no true church in England, no true ministry, no true worship; they say 'all is antichristian.' Here is their error: they distinguish not between the *bene esse*, or the purity of a church, and the *esse* or true *being* of it, though it has many defects and gross corruptions; but *we* believe there are many true churches in England, and a true ministry, and with which we could join in communion, were those corruptions removed, and yokes of bondage shaken off." This distinction is that which Mr. Robinson insisted upon. — See his *Apology*.

Bailey says of the Brownists, "They shoot their bolts at all other churches in the world that refuse their way." Robinson says, "We

account the reformed churches true churches, and both profess and practise communion with them in the holy things of God, what in us lieth." — *Works*, iii. 11. Mr. Cotton attests his free communion, and the manner in which he held it with the Church of England. — *Chr. Pil.* 401; see also his "*Way*, etc." 8. Bailey says, "Robinson was the principal overthrower of the Brownists" (*supra*), and also, "no Independent will take it well to be called a Brownist."

Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 389, "The Independents were much more commendable than the Brownists; they surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments and the order of their discipline. They did not, like him, pour forth bitter and uncharitable invectives against the churches that were governed by rules different from theirs, nor pronounce them, on that account, unworthy the Christian name. Though they considered their own ecclesiastical government of divine appointment, yet they acknowledged that religion and solid piety might flourish under the jurisdiction of bishops, synods, and presbyters. They were also more attentive to keeping up a regular ministry in their communities."

Collier bears the same testimony, (*Ecc. Hist.* ii. 681). "Goodwin, Nye, Bridges, and Symson, not liking the strict discipline of the Presbyterians, nor the latitude and license of the Brownists, projected a temper, and settled upon Robinson's Platform." This was 1638.

Pierce, (vindicator of the dissenters,) says, "Mr. Cotton was not a Brownist, as indeed none of the Independents were."

Gov. Bradford says, "They can no more fitly be called Brownists than the disciples might be called Judases, for they did as much abhor Brown's apostasy and profane course, as the disciples and others did Judas's." — *Chr. Pil.* 428. Again, he says, "It is injurious to call those after his name, whose person they never had seen. The truths they have received by the light of God's sacred word, though Brown may have professed some of the same things." — *Ibid.* 444.

In IIan. ii. 228, the English Independents, in their apologetical narration, say, "Our enemies fixed on us the odious name of Brownists, with all their opinions, although on our first statement, 'that the truth lay in the middle way,' between Brownism and Presbyterianism, they acknowledged that we differed from them."

This opprobrious name is, even now, occasionally thrown out by those who wish to create a joint influence or power of the churches against those who strictly adhere to Robinson's Platform, and prefer the term "Independency," to express the order of our churches, to

Congregationalism — probably too, by those who, if requested, would be unable to give us a distinctive account of the meaning of the word. — *Holmes's Annals*.

LEYDEN-PLYMOUTH CHURCH AT PLYMOUTH.

The "mother church" of our order, its principles, usages, and discipline, is so interesting to Congregationalists, that we shall set down from the records and authentic history, some account of it after its pilgrimage. Notwithstanding their declaration (and conduct in accordance with it), that it was "for the glory of God and the propagation of the Gospel that they transplanted themselves in these almost unknown parts," several historians follow them with denunciations, some, as Brownists, some as "weak minds full of superstition," some as "dupes of puritanic cast, and of a bad stock," etc. Still these foreign writers grant that "they were the best progenitors of the present race of Americans." But all these are now obsolete calumnies. Dr. Elliot says, "when they came to America, they possessed sentiments of moderation, which would have done honor to any denomination of Christians." — *Hist. Coll.* vii. 265. "While in Holland, they supported an excellent character, and Mr. Robinson, their pastor, was a man of great worth. Had he come over to Plymouth with them, it would have been of great advantage to the settlement; he was capable of giving them advice and direction in all their affairs. Mr. Brewster declined the office of pastor, but the church 'knew their own principles,' and had other officers who assisted in every part of worship." He was a teaching as well as a ruling elder, "a man of considerable parts and learning, educated at the University of Cambridge, as well as of great piety." — *Ibid.*

Mr. John Cotton, son of the distinguished minister of that name in Boston, was, for about thirty years, pastor of the church, and left on record some things of interest concerning their order and practice, which were incorporated into a kind of history, by a grandson of the same name, in 1760; from which some things may be extracted of general interest to the churches. It seems that Mr. Robinson advised Mr. Brewster not to administer the sacraments, as true order required that to be done by the pastor, (*Chr. Pil.* 477,) and he expected soon to be with them; and when some in England reproached them on that account, they replied, "the more is our grief that our pastor is kept

from us, by whom we might enjoy them, for we used to have the Lord's Supper every Sabbath." — *Hist. Coll.* iv. 108.

No pastor was obtained until 1629, when their brethren from Holland arrived and engaged Mr. Ralph Smith, "but finding him to be a man of 'low gifts and parts,' they improved others, and especially Mr. Roger Williams, for about three years; when 'he was called to office in Salem, they, at his desire, gave him a dismission to that church.'" — *Elliot*. Soon after which, Mr. Smith also was dismissed; so that Mr. Brewster was their teacher until the latter part of his life, when a Mr. Rayner was settled, who proved a very acceptable minister. They were desirous to settle Mr. Chauncey, afterwards President of Cambridge College, and he labored with them about three years, and went thence to Scituate.

About the time of Mr. Brewster's death, a part of the church removed to Eastham, on the Cape, "by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the place." And thus, says Mr. Cotton on the records, was this poor church, like an ancient mother grown old and forsaken by her children, (though not of their affections yet,) her ancient members being mostly worn away by death, and she that had made many rich became poor."

April 16, 1644. Mr. Brewster died, and an account of his life is given in the Memorial. It seems he was a well educated man, and served in a civil office for some years, was converted in early life, and was a member of Mr. Robinson's church as early as 1602, and became an exile with him in Holland. He was a man of good estate, and the worship was held in his house while in England. "He was wise, discreet, of ready utterance, very sociable and pleasant among his friends, of a humble, modest spirit; yet bold and courageous in reproving faults, but in such a manner as was usually well received. In his public administrations, he was very moving and pathetical, also plain and distinct in what he taught, addressing the understanding as well as the affections. He was full and comprehensive in his prayers, which were well adapted to the exigencies of his flock, yet far from lengthy or prolix. As to his official government, he was always careful to preserve good order, and to suppress errors and contentions, and God gave him good success herein. He left an excellent library;" a catalogue is on record. He died in peace at the age of more than fourscore years.

Mr. Rayner left in 1654, and settled in Dover. The record says, "He was wise, faithful, grave, a lover of good men, armed with much faith, patience, and meekness, mixed with courage for the cause of

God; a faithful, laborious preacher, a wise orderer of the affairs of the church, and training children in a catechetical way in the grounds of religion."

After Mr. Rayner's departure, the church remained sundry years without a pastor, notwithstanding their constant endeavors to procure one. Neighboring ministers often came to their assistance, but "they worship statedly by their elder, Mr. Cushman, assisted by some of the brethren."

Mr. Cotton was settled in the Plymouth church in 1669, having preached some years, and been called two years before. In 1680, the Memorial speaks of Mr. Cotton and his success in high terms, and says, "there are fourscore churches in gospel order now in New England." At Mr. Cotton's ordination the churches were represented from Barnstable, Marshfield, Weymouth, and Duxborough. There were but forty-seven members; but the domicil visits of the pastor and deacon seemed to produce a considerable revival; and the catechizing of the children was attended to once a fortnight by the pastor and elder. *Monthly conference* meetings were also held, which were continued for a century. One hundred and seventy-eight persons were admitted to the communion during his thirty years' ministry.

"The practice was for the men to make orally a confession of faith and a declaration of their experience of a work of grace before the congregation, having been examined before by the elders; and they stood propounded two or three weeks. The relations of the women, written in private from their mouths, were read in public by the pastor."

"But if any members came from other places, and had letters of dismission, they were accepted upon that testimonial, and nothing further was required of them."

"In 1688, it was agreed that if the elders judged any man not capable of speaking to edification before the congregation, they should call the church together in private, to hear such relations: but voting their admissions, and covenant with them, should be deferred to the public assembly."

In 1676, and also in 1692, the church renewed their covenant with God and one another, wherein they made agreement for personal and family reformation, and the children of the church bore part in the transaction; and religious interest, it is said, was thereby increased.

"In 1678-9, Mr. Cotton desired all the *church seed* who were heads of families to come to his house, and he gave them questions

for each one to answer to out of the Scriptures." This exercise was attended to once in two months for many years, and a blessing seemed to follow. They gave their answers in writing, and the pastor preached on them, most of the church being present.

It seems that until 1692, they had used Ainsworth's translation of the Psalms in singing, but they then changed it for the New England Psalm Book, which was in use in Massachusetts colony. The elder read the Psalm, "line by line," for singing.

In 1694, the pastor attended the catechizing of children on *Sabbath noons*, and continued it during his ministry; only on sacrament days, and short winter days, the service was omitted. The minister also preached on the occasion, and many of the congregation attended, and "God strengthened and encouraged the work."

A difference of opinion having arisen between the pastor and a number of the church, concerning the eldership, he asked a dismission in 1697, which was granted. It seems Mr. Samuel Fuller and Mr. Isaac Cushman had preached and finally were settled, one in Middleborough, and the other in Plympton, and as the church had not chosen them ruling elders, the proceedings were supposed to be irregular.

April, 1699. The church chose deacon Thomas Faunce ruling elder; he died in 1745, aged 99 years, and was the last ruling elder the church ever elected. "He was a man of considerable knowledge, eminent piety, and great usefulness." The same year, Rev. Ephraim Little was ordained pastor.

"In 1708, the pastor proposed to the church the setting up of private family meetings in the respective neighborhoods, which was approved and agreed upon."

In 1716, deacons being chosen, the church desired Mr. Little to have them ordained, which he declined doing. After a time, he consented to give them a solemn charge, and the elder concluded the service with prayer.

In 1718, a child, being at the point of death, the pastor was requested to call at the house and baptize it. This made some stir, as the first instance of the kind. He said, "I could never find in Scripture that baptism was limited to the Sabbath or public assembly."

In 1728, the church seemed to have adopted the recommendation of the Synod of 1662, and allowed the children of such as "owned the covenant" (though not members) to be baptized.

In 1783, the church requested the deacons to catechize the children between meetings, which they did, and also the next year.

In 1741-2, thirty-nine males and fifty-eight females were admitted to full communion. About this time Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., became the pastor of the church, the number of members being 154. His ministry continued to about the year 1800, when Rev. James Kendall became pastor, and still continues to administer with a colleague. During Dr. Robbins's ministry two hundred and fifteen members were added to the church; during Dr. Kendall's, 180. It is said there are now in Plymouth ten Christian churches, one half of which are Congregational.

During this time the church had colonized, and churches were gathered in many neighboring towns. There is a case on the records similar to many others found in the Old Colony. Rev. Mr. Little was dismissed on the same day of the ordination of his successor (Mr. Robbins), and instead of the Council's giving him his dismissal or recommendation, they advise the church thereto, and the church gave him a letter which is on the records, *in extenso*, concluding, "we do freely and heartily recommend him to the work of the ministry, if God should restore his health." — p. 133.

The History next proceeds to give an account of the religious principles and doctrines of the church, and they are the same as those before extracted from Mr. Prince. As to government and discipline, "they disclaim the name of Brownists which was thrown on them by the adversary; were first called Independents, afterwards Congregationalists, holding the equality of pastors and churches, and the distinct right each church has of ordering its own affairs, without control from any superior authority, yet ready to hold communion with all churches professing the true faith and worship of Christ, and to afford as well as receive assistance by council and advice, as there is occasion."

In regard to the ministry, "they held the necessity of gifts and study, and the great advantage and usefulness of human learning to qualify for the office, and improved men of academic education; but their pastor being kept back by the plots of evil men, the ruling elder used to call some of the leading brethren to pray and give a word of exhortation, the chief of whom were Gov. Winslow, Gov. Bradford, Mr. Thomas Southworth, and Nathaniel Morton, men of superior knowledge and parts."

They saw cause to alter their practice in respect to the admission of members, in 1705, and voted that "a relation, given in, in writing, publicly read, and standing forth publicly to own it, should in future be as satisfactory to the church as if delivered *viva voce*." "As to

taking the sense of the church, — the elders sometimes called for the votes by lifting up the hands; sometimes by silence; sometimes calling on every brother one after another, to speak his mind; sometimes when divers had particularly spoken, asking if the rest were so minded, they in a more general way, assenting. Any of these ways were attended as the elders thought most expedient. The elders never called for a negative or contrary vote. Care was taken, before any vote was called for, to gain the assent of every brother; and this was a great preservative of the peace of the church."

The history closes by an account of their religious practice and deportment. "They were held in renown, far and near, for strict piety towards God, strong and lively faith, fervent love, zeal for the divine honor, their watchfulness and prayerfulness, conscientious regard for his Sabbaths and institutions, delight in his word and ways, days of humiliation, and readiness to attend meetings."

"They were eminent for sobriety, temperance, and chastity, and self-denial, diligent and faithful in the discharge of relative duties, and training their families in the ways of the Lord. Their strict justice endeared them to the natives, without fraud in dealing with them."

"Their love and charity towards their fellow Christians shone forth with peculiar lustre. In Holland they lived together in love and peace, as attested by the magistrates. In the first twelve years of their settlement in Plymouth, numerous objects of charity presented themselves which they were ready to relieve even beyond their power. Some shipwrecked, some destitute of provisions, some sick, and others landing to ship for other colonies — all met with kind entertainment, mostly free of cost, and sometimes for months together. And their expending some hundreds to procure passage and provisions for their poor brethren in Holland and supplying them with provisions above thirteen months, till they could have a harvest of their own." Mr. Cotton says, "upon any motion for a contribution (for people in distress) there was a great readiness in the people to hearken thereto, and give freely and abundantly; the Lord reward it."

It is known that the termination of the pilgrimage of this church has been annually, and especially centennially, celebrated at "the Rock," for a long time, and the occasion has called forth the talents of our best statesmen and divines. Perhaps none of them have taken a more interesting view of the subject than Mr. Webster; and this account will close with a short extract from his address:—

"We feel that we are on the spot where the scene of our history was laid; where the hearts and altars of New England were first

placed: where Christianity, civilization, and letters made their first lodgement, in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness and peopled by savages. We see the mild dignity of CARVER and BRADFORD; the soldierlike air and manner of STANDISH, the devout BREWSTER, and the enterprising ALLERTON; their trust in Heaven; their high religious faith, full of confidence and anticipation — and childhood too, houseless but for a mother's arms.

“There is a spirit of daring in religious reformers, not to be measured by the general rules which control men's purposes and actions. The learned, accomplished, unassuming, inoffensive Robinson, not tolerated in his own country, nor suffered quietly to depart, himself and Brewster flying with their little band, — not the flight of *guilt*, but of *virtue*, — surmounting all difficulties and braving a thousand dangers, to find here a place of refuge and of rest. The first morning beamed on the first night of their repose and saw the Pilgrims established in their country: — here was civil liberty and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing in the wanderings of heroes so distinct and characteristic. Our fathers came here to enjoy religion, free and unmolested; and at the end of two centuries, there is nothing of which we can express more deep and earnest conviction, than the inestimable importance of that religion to man. Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty! May its standard, reared here, remain forever! May it rise up as high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations.”

“Let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought here for their high veneration for the Christian religion. THEY JOURNEYED IN ITS LIGHT AND LABORED IN ITS HOPE. Let us cherish these sentiments and extend their influence still more widely; in the full conviction that that is the happiest society which partakes in the highest degree of the mild and peaceable spirit of Christianity.”

At a late meeting of the numerous descendants of Elder Brewster, it was declared, that “he was the ruling spirit of the colony, and that, under God, we are more indebted to him than to any other man for the grand results of that emigration.” But was not Gov. Bradford rather the heart and conservative sustainer of this colony? The Memorial would seem to indicate this. He was, at the time of his arrival, thirty-two years of age only, and on the death of Gov. Carver, was immediately chosen governor; and he served in that office thirty years, with the exception of two years, when he prevailed upon

the colonists to choose Mr. Winslow, and one year, Mr. Prince. His "good report" is in all our churches, and all our histories. Grave, temperate, learned, (he knew all the modern languages, the Greek, and more especially the Hebrew; "he said he would see with his own eyes the native beauty of the oracles of God,") discreet, "a strict disciplinarian, though far from an intolerant spirit;" just and generous to the Indians, and hospitable to them as well as the English. He is a most reliable historian, and the labors and trials of the pilgrims, and their heroic character, would scarcely have been known, but for his history. His skill and success in securing the friendship of the natives, in the punishment and prevention of crimes, in promoting the harmony and industry of the people, and sharing in all their toils and privations, are set down in the Memorial, and need not be repeated. Add to these, that he was eminent in the church, and took the lead, under the Elder, in speaking to their edification.

"It is worthy of admiration and gratitude that this colony and that of Massachusetts should have been blest with two such governors as Bradford and Winthrop, men not easy to be paralleled." Hubbard says, "Mr. Bradford and Mr. Brewster were the two main props and pillars of the colony." — *Hub. Hist. N. E.* 664.

But the success of this colony is not to be attributed to the labors and ability of one man. It would seem that the plantation must have failed but for the special abilities, virtues, and efforts of many, each in his department. How could their difficulties with the merchant adventurers have been adjusted without the diplomacy, skill, tact, and talent of Gov. Winslow? He was a splendid, well-bred gentleman, personally made a journey forty miles to help and nurse the sick Massasoit, and his journals and writings show him to have been an accomplished author. And how could the pilgrims have secured the means of subsistence and paid the heavy debt to the merchants, who advanced the means for the emigration, but for the enterprise and activity of Allerton, in concert with Gov. Bradford, in setting up trading posts in Massachusetts, Maine, and Connecticut, "to obtain beaver," for these purposes, of the natives? Both he and Winslow had to make frequent voyages to England to discharge the heavy indebtedness. And what would, at last, have become of the colony, but for the military skill, hardihood, firm and sound mind of Miles Standish? Indeed, almost every man among them must have been a hero of inflexible virtue, patient labor, as well as high enterprise, or the plantation must have perished.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

What our ecclesiastical polity would have been, but for the high reputation of Robinson, and the persevering piety and order of the Leyden-Plymouth church, is very problematical. But it is certain that the immigrants arrived before they had fixed on any polity whatever, distinct from that of the Church of England.

The distinguished editor of the *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, and the *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, says, "It is somewhat remarkable that they both adopted the same form of church polity." Why remarkable? The Pilgrims had now stood upon the Congregational Platform thirty years, and certainly knew what it was, having tried all parts of it, and that successfully. The Puritans had objected almost as strenuously as the Pilgrims against the corruptions and practices of the Church of England. But they wished and hoped to reform and improve it, and therefore continued in its communion, — in the pale of that church. But after a long time attempting to do so, and yet conscientiously refusing to conform in many things, and being put in great straits and difficulties, they resolved to emigrate to New England. But it does not appear that they contemplated a separation from the established church. Indeed, the contrary of that is manifest. After their embarkation, they addressed a letter "to their brethren in and of the Church of England," in which they say, "we desire you would take notice of the principals and body of our company, who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we arise, our mother, ever acknowledging such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance of her welfare," etc. — *Hutch.* i. 331.

They knew that the polity of the Leyden-Plymouth church had been examined and embraced under the auspices of Mr. Robinson, and that he had vindicated, cleared, and defended it, on scriptural grounds, and by victorious argument, and that it had been successfully tried a whole generation; and the argument and the example commended the polity to them with such weight and force that they found no better model for order and worship, and they therefore adopted it. Hubbard, who could not forget the idea of "Separatists," which had attached to the Plymouth church, yet says, "an elder in Boston had a conference with the chief of the Plymouth church, to

whose opinion the church of Boston did much adhere in their church matters, as those of Salem had done before." And Hutchinson says, "they went the full length which the 'Separatists' did." But we shall transcribe the full account of this from Gov. Hutchinson, who knew all about the establishment of the churches in Massachusetts, and whose talents and candor enabled him to state it with exactness. — *Hist. Mass.* i. 368.

"The Planters of Massachusetts, whilst they remained in England, continued communion with the church, such of them excepted as were excluded from it for non-conformity to some of the ceremonial parts of worship, and they were all more or less dissatisfied. The canons and laws of the church, and the rigid execution of them, they accounted a grievous burden. The form of government in the church was not a subject of complaint. They were very careful to distinguish themselves from Brownists, and other 'Separatists.' Had they remained in England, and the church been governed with the wisdom and moderation of the present day, they would have remained, to use their own expression, 'in the bosom of the church whence they received their hopes of salvation.' However, they did not suppose the form of Episcopal government to be enjoined by divine authority, so as to make it unlawful to submit to or establish any other form; but they were far from being determined what it should be. The 'Separatists' used to boast (Robinson so wrote, but not boastingly), that 'if the old Puritans were secure of the magistrate's sword, and might go on with his good license, they would shake off the prelates; and draw no longer in the spiritual union with all the profane in the land; and though they then preached and wrote against the 'Separatists,' yet, if they were in a place where they might have their liberty, they would do as they did." The inconveniences we suffer under one extreme, it must be allowed, carry us insensibly into the other. The New England Puritans, when at full liberty, went the full length of the Separatists in England. It does not follow that they would have done so, if they had remained in England. In the form of worship they universally followed the Plymouth church. This is called the middle way between Brownism, and Presbyterianism. As they lived in three distinct places, and had men of ability in each, they became three distinct bodies, but seemed to have no settled plan till Mr. Cotton came over in 1633."

The residue of the Leyden church had just then joined their brethren at Plymouth, when the first Congregational church originally gathered in Massachusetts was about to be established in Salem, Au-

gust 6, 1629. Although the after generation was unwilling to admit that they took their model from the Plymouth church, yet, says Hubbard, "there is no small evidence that they did." It seems Gov. Bradford had written to Gov. Endicott, and May 1, 1629, Gov. Endicott wrote him and thanked him "in sending Dr. Fuller among them," and, saith he, "I rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your form of outward worship; it is no other, as far as I can gather, than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained." — *Hist. Coll.* iii. 66.

In the History of Salem, *Hist. Coll.* vi. 242, Mr. Bentley says, "Mr. Higginson arrived at Salem, June 26, 1629. He found Mr. Endicott at Salem, who had expressed his intentions to the church already formed in Plymouth. Two articles were fixed by consent: that the church at Salem should not acknowledge any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the church at Plymouth, if any assistance was given at Salem, and that the authority of ordination should not exist in the clergy, but should depend entirely upon the free election of the church. Mr. Higginson consented, and in the presence of the Plymouth delegates, who arrived during the solemnities, the elder, qualified as they had directed, as the representative of the people, laid on his hands. The righthand of fellowship was given as a pledge of the mutual fellowship of the churches." The covenant, which was similar to that of the Plymouth church, (*supra*), was, no doubt, agreed on when the "articles" were fixed. "The office of elder did not survive the first generation."

Gov. Winslow (*Nar. Chr. Pil.* 386, 387), says, "The many plantations that came over to us advised with us how they should fall upon a right platform of worship, and desired us, to that end, to show them whereupon our platform was grounded. We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant; and other our warrants for every particular we did, from the word of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entered into covenant with God and one another "to walk in all his ways revealed, or as they should be made known to them." — (See Covenants at the close of this article.)

It may be interesting to extract from the contemporary letters in relation to the formation of the first churches in Massachusetts. Dr. Samuel Fuller, one of the pilgrim worthies, and deacon of the church at Plymouth, writes to Gov. Bradford from Salem, June 28, 1630: "The gentlemen here, lately come over, are resolved to set down at the head of Charles River, and they of Mattapan (Dorchester), pro-

pose to go and plant with them. I have been at Mattapan and *let some of these people's blood*. I had a conference with them till I was weary. Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people, godly and ungodly; upon which we had all our conference; to which, I trust, God will give a blessing. Mr. Phillips, who told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister, by the calling he had received by the prelates in England, he will leave them. The governor (Winthrop) is a godly, wise, and humble gentleman, and of a fine good temper. He hath had a conference with me both in private and before many others, and he hopes we will not be wanting in helping them: so that I think you will be sent for. Mr. Coddington* told me that *Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them.*—*Hist. Coll.* iii. 75.

In July 26, 1630, Gov. Winslow and Dr. Fuller write to Gov. Bradford, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Brewster: "*They will do nothing without our advice*, to wit: Dr. Fuller, Mr. Allerton, and myself, requiring our voices as their own, so that the sixth day (Friday), they may humble themselves before God, and seek him in his ordinances, and that such godly persons as are amongst them, and made known to each other, publicly and at the end of the exercise, make known their godly desire, and practise the same, to wit, solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways; and as they earnestly desire to advise with us, so do they earnestly entreat the church in Plymouth to set apart the same day for the same end; since they are so disposed in their estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability among them, they are to observe the day and become three bodies."—*Ibid.*

August 2, 1630. Dr. Fuller again writes from Charlestown, that "some had entered into church state;" of his purpose to return home and Capt. Endicott with him, and of Gov. Winthrop's desire to go, but who says, "I cannot be absent two hours."—*Ibid.* The organization of the church there was July 30, 1630, and the ordination of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips at the same time. Mr. Phillips was pastor in Watertown, and Mr. Wilson, on the removal of the church to Boston, was pastor there: Mr. Warham in Dorchester.—See *Wint.* i. 50.

Baillie said in his "Dissuasive," "In a few years those who settled

* Afterward Governor.

in New England did agree to model themselves after Mr. Robinson's pattern." Mr. Cotton replied (*Way*, etc., 16), "There was no agreement by any solemn or common consultation; but it was true that they did, as if they had agreed, by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up, by the help of Christ, the same model of churches, one like to another, the Plymouth church helping the first comers in their theory by hearing and discovering their practice at Plymouth."

Robinson said, in his parting address to the Pilgrims, "There will be no difference between the unconforming ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom." Upon which Mr. Young notes, "This prophecy was remarkably fulfilled in the case of Massachusetts colonists." Mr. Higginson, in 1629, in taking his last look from his native land, exclaimed, "We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England." Governor Winthrop and his company on their departure, made similar protestations (see *supra*). "These professions were no doubt heartfelt and sincere, and yet no sooner were these Non-conformists in a place where they could act for themselves, than they pursued precisely the course taken by the Separatists, adopted their form of ecclesiastical discipline, and set up Independent churches." — *Chron. Pil.* 398. Mr. Young says, in another place, "The distinction between the two colonies was by no means trifling or overlooked, in the first generation." This had been said by others; but it has not been told in what that distinction consisted. As to the churches, they of Massachusetts chose mere ruling elders, and gave them authoritative power, but these distinctions vanished very shortly, as has been shown. As to catholicity and toleration, the extract from Governor Hutchinson (see preface), shows that the Plymouth colony was far in the advance. But the distinction most felt and observable was that which exists between the poor and the rich, the weak and the powerful, between four hundred poor pilgrims, and four thousand wealthy planters. They were indebted to the pilgrims, as being pioneers and exemplars of the true ecclesiastical polity, and not very willing to acknowledge their indebtedness. They induced the Plymouth commissioners, at the colonial Congress, to agree to pass intolerant laws against sectarians, but they had the wisdom to keep far behind in severity, and never to execute them except in a single instance. Several movements have also been made tending to impair the true independence of the churches, and a few have ventured to charge Brownism upon the Plymouth church. But the great body of the churches of both colonies are standing firm upon the Robinson platform, and every

movement for changing it has signally failed. When Dr. Holmes wrote his "Annals," this "fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name," had not ceased to be cast upon *all* our churches, (vol. i. p. 484.) But unless we keep it alive among ourselves, we may well hope to hear no more of it.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN ENGLAND.

The first Congregational church permanently established in England, was the church in Southwark (London), in 1616, when Henry Jacob was chosen pastor. Mr. Jacob had been a puritan, and had written against the Independents, having been himself beneficed in the Church of England. "But he was gained to the side of truth," passed over to Holland, and "while in close conference with Robinson," he wrote a treatise on "The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's visible Church," in which he agrees entirely with Robinson (*supra*). The pilgrims say, "they knew him and Dr. Ames and Mr. Parker, when they sojourned for a time in Leyden." — *Chr. Pil.* 439, 440. "He was a man of discretion, courage, and humility, and engaged in the arduous task of collecting the remnant of the London congregation, a work of great difficulty and peril, in a time of persecution and danger. The church organized in a private dwelling, and a declaration of their principles was published, with a petition to the king for toleration." (*Han.* i. 224). Their meetings on Lord's day were private for fear of persecuting adversaries. After about eight years of his ministry, he joined the pilgrims, but died very soon after his arrival. Rev. John Lothrop was his successor, who had also relinquished his benefice for conscience' sake, ("a man of an earnest and humble spirit,") and in 1632, he and forty-two of his church were discovered, seized, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He emigrated in 1634, with thirty-two of his church and congregation, and settled in Scituate, Plymouth county, as pastor of the church gathered there, and his name is known in all our churches. A history of the Southwark church is printed with Robinson's Works, vol. iii. p. 439. It is also printed in a pamphlet with the history of the church of Scituate and of Mr. Lothrop, and is of much interest. The Southwark church has suffered severe persecution, but is now prosperous, and enjoys the sympathies of all the churches.

Buck (Theo. Dic.) says, "The first Independent or Congregational church in England was established by Henry Jacob in 1616." It is,

however, an historical fact that the Robinson church was organized at the house of William Brewster, before 1602. But that *whole church* went into exile in Holland, and afterwards emigrated to Plymouth, New England, as has before been historically related.

Neal says (*Hist. Pur.* i. 244), "Jacob was beneficed at Cheriton, but going to Leyden and conversing with Mr. Robinson, he embraced his sentiments of discipline and government, and transplanted them into England."

Although persecution did not wholly crush the Southwark church, yet there seems to have been little increase of Independents until the imprisonment of Archbishop Laud, when certain exiles returned from Holland, and were called to the Westminster Assembly. Dr. Lingard says, "They were few, and could only compensate the paucity of their numbers by the energy and talent of their leaders. They never exceeded a dozen in the assembly; but they were veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering, whose attachment to their favorite doctrine had been riveted by persecution and exile, and who had not escaped from the intolerance of one church to submit tamely to the control of another." — *Hist. Eng.* x. 274.

But the first permanent Independent church in England has attracted much interest, and as a pioneer church will justify the following extracts from a letter to the Rev. Mr. Wight, pastor of the church at Scituate, where Mr. Lothrop officiated. It is from the present pastor and deacons of the Southwark church, Rev. J. Waddington, pastor, B. Hanbury, M. Medwin, and J. E. Newson, deacons, dated 1853.

"It may not be unacceptable to you to receive from us a few facts and observations relative to the martyrs and pilgrims to whom, under God, we are so deeply indebted. The Puritans who followed in the wake of the Mayflower, though improved by the free air of the wilderness, would not have been suffered to go out, unless they could take the oaths submitted to them by the authorities, before they sailed from the ports of England. The facts of this important matter have not yet received the discriminating attention necessary to the full development of historical truth.

"Your countrymen naturally begin your historical records with the sailing of the 'Mayflower.' But the interest of that event would be greatly enhanced, by extending the inquiry half a century further back. In the space of a single letter we can only give a rude outline of the events which identify the church in Southwark with the Pilgrims of New England."

They speak of a prison near Southwark, in which John Penry,

while under sentence of death, (1593,) is writing an affecting letter to the distressed churches of the Separatists, a copy of which he enjoins them to read to their brethren in the north of England. Within a wretched dungeon in the Marshalsea is John Smith, subsequently pastor, in conjunction with Mr. Clifton, of the church in the north of England, which met at the house of William Brewster. In the third prison in Southwark is Francis Johnson, soon to be liberated, however, and to become a pioneer of the Pilgrims in Holland. John Robinson is entering Cambridge at this time. He succeeded John Smith and Richard Clifton in the pastorate of the church at Scrooby, and on his removal to Holland, with William Brewster, joined the church under the care of Francis Johnson, in the first instance. Henry Jacob, our first pastor, was a convert of Francis Johnson, and while at Leyden, in exile, he was the intimate friend and companion of Robinson.

On a visit to this country in 1595, Johnson was again thrown into prison, and during his incarceration, wrote two letters in answer to Arthur Hildersham, a leading Puritan opposed to the Separatists, "for the confirmation of a Christian gentleman," who was also a prisoner for the same cause. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this same Arthur Hildersham was himself immured in one of the prisons in Southwark in 1615, and might have occupied the cell of the martyr Penry.

In 1616 a new charge was preferred against him, as a ringleader of schism, and for holding private conventicles, and he was condemned to pay a fine of £2,000. To avoid renewed imprisonment, he went into concealment. At this juncture it was, that Henry Jacob came from Leyden for the purpose of forming a settled Congregational church. He found Mr. Hildersham in his obscure retreat, and they held together a secret conference.

Both these ministers had formerly opposed the Separatists, and both, in consequence of more advanced views, had suffered unto bonds. It was the conviction of Henry Jacob that the time was come to take a firm and decided, though quiet, stand, and plant a church in Southwark on the model of the New Testament. "Smaller numbers," he said, "uncertain and occasional in their assemblies, are not properly churches; a free and proper church being always necessarily an orderly set company and a constant society." Mr. Hildersham acquiesced in these views, and seeing no prospect of a reformation of the national church, encouraged Mr. Jacob in his design. A part of the church formed under these circumstances, sailed in the *Mayflower* from the wharves in 1620, and joined the brethren who came from Leyden, at Southampton.

It seems their worship was held in the night time for concealment. But that ecclesiastical tyrant, Archbishop Laud, "breathing out threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and hauling men and women, committed them to prison." Still they persevered until the day of deliverance came by his overthrow. After this event, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, and a few other "Independents," distinguished as popular and effective preachers, returned from exile, and constituted a very small minority in the Westminster Assembly. The people seemed "with one accord to give heed to the things which were spoken;" churches were multiplied under their ministry, until the restoration of the monarchy.

Drs. Goodwin and Nye, the most distinguished of them, wrote the preface to Mr. Cotton's "Keys," and how far they agreed with him has before been stated; and Dr. Owen, in his tract on schism, confesses that he was converted to agree with them by Mr. Cotton's books. The agreement of Lord Brooke and Lord Say with these views has also been before stated.

In Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 681, he says of Drs. Goodwin and Nye, "These men, liking neither the strict discipline of the Presbyterians, nor the latitude and license of the Brownists, projected a temper, and settled upon Robinson's model."

Baillie, in his Dissuasive, p. 54, says: "Goodwin and Nye, Burroughs and Bridge, and Simpson, (1646,) are discreet and zealous men. Master Robinson did derive his way to his Separate congregation at Leyden, a part of them did carry it over to Plymouth in New England; here Master Cotton did take it up, and transmit it thence to Master Thomas Goodwin, who did help to propagate it to sundry others, till now, by many hands, it is sown thick in divers parts of this kingdom." — See *Han.* iii. 135.

Mr. Cotton replies, "I hope there want not divers more to be added to them in other parts of England." — *Way*, etc. 12.

Baillie said there were but six Independents in the Westminster Assembly; "but what it wants in numbers is multiplied by the weight of its followers. But it has had many bad fruits, notwithstanding all the gifts and graces with which Robinson and Ainsworth have been adorned by God."

THE ADDRESS OF REV. ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.

Dr. Vaughan is among the venerable Congregational divines of distinction in England. He made an Address, by request of "The Congregational Union of England and Wales," entitled "Congregationalism, or the polity of Independent Churches;" which has been printed, and it will, no doubt, be interesting to extract some of his views here, especially as the book is scarce, and the views seasonable and important. A single extract has before been made.

"One of the most characteristic features of modern society consists in the efforts which are made in favor of popular intelligence; and Congregationalism harmonizes with every thing that is wisely done in relation to that object. The discovery of printing, the right of private judgment, liberty of worship, and freedom of discussion on all subjects, — nothing could be more congenial to Congregationalism than these subjects. It is a system to be worked by popular power, and must depend, if worked orderly, upon popular intelligence. It bestows a kind of franchise upon all who become parties to it. Its aim is to make all men Christians, and to render all Christians competent to a well observance of the duties which arise out of the Christian fellowship.

"It is said we are republicans in our church polity, and must, in consequence, be republicans in state affairs. As the principles which obtain in our churches are essentially popular, they are in agreement with the popular suffrage, in our social (civil) affairs. But there is nothing in Congregationalism to prevent its disciples from being good subjects under an aristocracy, or monarchy, or a despotism.

"Congregationalism in regard to other communions may claim equality, but it can take no precedence. In regard to the state, it may demand justice, but can never accept of favor. Neither the church nor the world has any thing to fear from it, but very much to hope. It can never do men harm, except as it may be done by reason or persuasion.

"The fault is entirely with ourselves if we do not, more fully than any other communion have done, realize the maxim, that 'Union has strength.' It does not seek union for the sake of power, (as do some communions,) but for the sake of liberty. Every church, by its independent action, has to provide its own expenditure and its own discipline. If weak, these may well engage all its capabilities; if strong, it has to add attentions to plans, by which the strong may

assist the weak, and by which new ground may be occupied at home and abroad.

“Persons not Congregationalists, generally suppose that we have no such thing as union among us ; that it is the very element of Independency that we should be much more enamored with isolation than union ; that our system is the favorite with us because it serves to scatter us, in the *disjecta membra* fashion, in a thousand directions, and is, in its nature, opposed to our being joined into one body. They should ask themselves whether it is just to suppose we are without the disposition to attach some natural meaning to those Scriptures which so explicitly speak of the unity which must ever belong to the true church of Christ, and the obligation resting upon all churches and Christians, to exercise, as far as possible, mutual recognition, to hold mutual fellowship, and to abound in good offices one towards another.”

He then appeals to the associations and unions of the Congregationalists in all parts of England, which are, in fact, home missionary societies, to assist the weak, and devise means of efficient action. When it is considered, “that our churches are not more characterized by their one polity, than by their one faith, it will be manifest that with much less of unity than some other religious bodies in appearance, we possess greatly more in reality. Without any denominational creed or confession, we possess already much more oneness in opinion than those who zealously uphold such things. If our conformity is neither so strict nor so obtrusive, our unity is greater. Within the last few years, independency has appeared strong enough to demonstrate its power of association, in the formation of this UNION, [Congregational Union of England and Wales,] and wise enough to perceive the practical objects which might be aided by such means. While we are animated by that love of liberty which insures to our churches their separate independence, we are, at the same time, so far governed by a love of order as to be capable of giving to our entire denomination a character of unity, by a Union, which renounces all authority to legislate, and all power to coerce.”

“At the last meeting of the UNION, it was made to appear that the Congregationalists of England and Wales are steadily increasing in numbers and efficiency. Our places of worship multiply in an increased ratio every year, considerable accessions continue to be made, and our ministry is in a course of advancement. It is the belief of persons, who are no incompetent judges, that Congregationalism has

doubled, and perhaps even trebled in strength during the last quarter of a century. The signs of a growing piety are also observable among ministers and people.

“Two hundred years since, the Church of England was the church of the whole nation; it is not now the church of more than half of it. And within the same space, Independency, (including Baptists and Anti-Pædobaptists,) did not reckon more than ten or twelve ministers and churches, has risen to number between three and four thousand. The denomination may be said to possess more than treble the strength, at this time, than it did at the commencement of the present century.” He refers to the prediction of John Robinson. — *Supra*.*

“Three centuries were required to raise the church above proscription and persecution; and who can tell what another century may do for Independency? The approval which it has extorted from the public judgment during the last twenty years, the most sagacious could not have anticipated. We see the progress of the principles which the primitive church acted upon, reviewed in the history of Independency, and passing from our churches to all churches, under the blessing of God, not less adapted to secure purity, than to give to our common Christianity its proper freedom and power; and we see it as the true ordinance of God, as carrying the elements of law and order, to extend and ennoble the institutes which have obtained among the kingdoms of the world.

* “In England and Wales, with a population of 18,000,000, there are 34,467 places of public worship, of which 14,077 belong to the Church of England, and 20,390 to all other denominations. But the sittings or church accommodations are, in the Episcopal churches, 4,922,412, and all other denominations, 4,545,326. But the sittings of the Dissenters are more used than those of the Established Church. Half of the population of England are Dissenters, and not more than one twentieth are Roman Catholics—they have but 570 churches.

“The number of the churches of the Independents is 3,244; of the Baptists, 2,789; Presbyterians, 161; Unitarians, 229; including the Independents of Scotland and Ireland, and those of the ‘Plymouth Brethren,’ the Independent churches are full 4,000.” These statistics are taken from the census returns for March 30, 1851. It will be seen that the numbers in the *Congregational Journal* are very far from the full number. The statements of Rev. Dr. Vaughan are fully reliable, and accord with the census returns.

The number of Congregational churches in the United States and British Provinces are probably about two thousand. But the enumeration has not been fully made. Those of the Baptist denomination, adopting the Congregational discipline, are probably four times that number. We are told, credibly, they exceed nine thousand.

“When the world shall have made the natural approach to the state which the most humane and enlightened have labored to promote, then will come the nearest conformity to Congregationalism. God has so devised this system that the progress of man in social life will ever be, not to amend, but copy it ; not to go beyond, but follow after. The system will not change, but it will continue to enlarge, to improve and brighten, as the world shall be made to possess a greater aptitude for receiving it.”

THE SAVOY PLATFORM.

A declaration of the faith and order of the Congregational churches in England was made by a Synod at the Savoy, London, 1659, the whole of which is found in *Han.* iii. 547, and on. It is quite voluminous, and we only transcribe the substance of their views.

“Of the institution of churches, and the order appointed in them by Jesus Christ,” as given in *Neal’s Hist. Pur.* ii. 178, 179.

“That every particular society of visible professors, agreeing to walk together in the faith and order of the gospel, is a complete church, and has full power within itself to elect and ordain all church officers, to exclude all offenders, and to do all other acts relating to the edification and well-being of the church.

“That the way of ordaining officers, that is, pastors, teachers, and elders, is, after their election by the suffrage of the church, to set them apart with fasting and prayer, and the imposition of the eldership of the church ; though, if there be no imposition of hands, they are, nevertheless, rightly constituted ministers of Christ ; but they do not allow that ordination to the work of the ministry, though it be by persons rightly ordained, does convey any office power, without a previous election of the church.

“That none may administer the sacrament, but such as are ordained and appointed thereto. Nor are the pastors of one church obliged to administer the sacraments to any other than the members of that church to whom they stand related in that capacity. Nor may any person be added to the church, but by the consent of the church, and a confession of his faith, declared by himself, or otherwise manifested.

“They disallow the power of all stated synods, presbyteries, convocations, and assemblies of divines, over particular churches, but admit, that in cases of difficulty or difference relating to doctrine or order, churches may meet together by their messengers, in synods or

councils, to consider and give advice, but without exercising any jurisdiction.

“And lastly, they agree that churches, consisting of persons sound in the faith and of good conversation, ought not to refuse communion with each other, though they walk not in all things according to the same rules of church order; and if they judge other churches to be true churches, though less pure, they may receive to occasional communion such members of those churches as are credibly testified to be godly, and to live without offence.”

Dr. Price says, “these views are precisely those still held by the whole body of Congregationalists in England.” — *Hist. Nar.* ii. 621.

DISCIPLINE AND ORDER OF THE ENGLISH CHURCHES.

We think it cannot but be acceptable to present to the reader the order of our churches in England, and especially as it can now be done with great precision.

In 1833, August 6, London, the “Congregational Union of England and Wales,” made and published a declaration entitled “The Congregational Union of England and Wales, frequently called Independent, hold the following doctrines of divine appointment, and as the foundation of Christian faith and practice. They are also formed and governed according to the principles hereinafter stated.”

They premise that it is not intended that the articles of faith should be scholastic or critical; nor that the statement should be put forth with any authority; that they disallow the utility of creeds and articles of religion as a bond of union, and protest against subscription to any human formularies as a term of common union; that they yet are willing to declare what is commonly believed among them; reserving to every one the most perfect liberty of conscience; and they say, by their appeal to the churches, they have ascertained that they are far more agreed in their doctrines and practices, than any church which enjoins subscriptions, and enforces human standards of orthodoxy. There is, in the articles of faith, no material difference from those which our churches in New England profess, and so we do not transcribe them. The Trinity is expressed in these words: “They believe that God is revealed in the Scriptures, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that to each are attributable the same divine properties and perfections.”

PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH ORDER AND DISCIPLINE.

“1. The Congregational churches hold it to be the will of Christ that true believers should voluntarily assemble together to observe religious ordinances, to promote mutual edification and holiness, to perpetuate and propagate the gospel in the world, and to advance the worship and glory of God, through Jesus Christ; and that each society of believers, having these objects in view in its formation, is properly a Christian church.

“2. They believe that the New Testament contains, either in the form of express statute, or in the example of apostles or apostolic churches, all the articles of faith necessary to be believed, and all the principles of order and discipline requisite for constituting and governing Christian societies; and that human traditions, fathers and councils, canons and creeds, possess no authority over the faith and practice of Christians.

“3. They acknowledge Christ as the only head of the church; and the officers of each church under him, as ordained to administer his laws impartially to all; and their only appeal, in all cases touching religious faith and practice, is to the sacred scriptures.

“4. They believe that the New Testament authorizes every Christian church to elect its own officers, to manage all its own affairs, and to stand independent of and irresponsible to all authority, saving that only of the supreme and divine head of the church, the Lord Jesus Christ.

“5. They believe that the only officers placed by the apostles over individual churches are the bishops or pastors, and the deacons; the members of these being dependent upon the numbers of the church; and that to these, as the officers of the church, is committed respectively the administration of its temporal and spiritual concerns — subject, however, to the approbation of the church.

“6. They believe that no persons should be received as members of Christian churches, but such as make a credible profession of Christianity, are living according to its precepts, and attest a willingness to be subject to its discipline; and that none should be excluded from the fellowship of the church, but such as deny the faith of Christ, violate his laws, or refuse to submit themselves to the discipline which the word of God enforces.

“7. Power of admission into any Christian church, and rejection

from it, they believe to be vested in the church itself, and to be exercised only through the medium of its officers.

“8. They believe that Christian churches should statedly meet, for the celebration of public worship, the observance of the Lord’s supper, and for the sanctification of the first day of the week.

“9. They believe that the power of a Christian church is purely spiritual, and should in no way be corrupted by union with temporal or civil power.

“10. They believe that it is the duty of Christian churches to hold communion with each other, to entertain enlarged affection for each other as members of the same body, and to coöperate for the promotion of the Christian cause, but that no church nor union of churches, has any right or power to interfere with the faith or discipline of any other church, further than to separate from such as, in faith or practice, depart from the gospel of Christ.

“11. They believe that it is the privilege and duty of every church to call forth such of its members as may appear to be qualified by the Holy Spirit, to sustain the office of the ministry; and that Christian churches unitedly ought to consider the maintenance of the Christian ministry in an adequate degree of learning, as one of its especial cares; that the cause of the gospel may be both honorably sustained and constantly promoted.

“12. They believe that church officers, whether bishops or deacons, should be chosen by the free choice of the church; but that their dedication to the duties of their office, should take place with special prayer, and by solemn designation; to which most of the churches add, the imposition of hands by those already in office.

“13. They believe that the fellowship of every Christian church should be so liberal as to admit to the communion in the Lord’s Supper, all whose faith and godliness are, on the whole, undoubted, though conscientiously differing in points of minor importance; and that this outward sign of fraternity in Christ, should be coextensive with the fraternity itself, though without involving any compliances which conscience would deem sinful.”

CONCLUSION.

President Mather says, “I look upon the discovery and settlement of the Congregational way as the boon, the gratuity, the largess of Divine bounty, which the Lord graciously bestowed on his people,

that followed Him into this wilderness. Here the good people that came over, showed more love, zeal, and affectionate desire of communion with God in pure worship and ordinances, and did more in order to it, than others; and the Lord did more for them than any people in the world, in showing them the pattern of his house, and the true scriptural way of church government and administrations." To which Dr. Bacon adds:—

"The primitive churches of New England are coeval with the country. Their history is the history of all that makes the heart of a New Englander beat with emotion. There are forms and constitutions of government, under which churches are so carefully guarded against error, that they are almost equally guarded against truth; but with *us* there are neither canons nor constitutions to prevent improvement and enterprise in active Christianity, or resist the reformation of prescriptive errors."

"The Gospel in its doctrines is a mighty leveller. Like its author it respects not the persons of princes. But to the monarch and the slave it addresses the same charges of guilt, and offers the same forgiveness, and the same hope of immortality. So far as it gains its appropriate influence over men, it makes them feel that they are all alike. Just so, in its institutions; it puts all men on a level, and carefully respects the rights of all. It leads every man to think for himself, and bids every man act for himself. It guards against priestcraft and spiritual domination, by the institution of churches with distinct, independent, and inalienable rights. It is distinguished from Presbyterianism by the principle that all church power resides in each particular church by the express or implied compact of its members. It may, like a Presbyterian church, have its ruling elders; but while that system makes the elders accountable, *not* to the church, but to some superior judicature, Congregationalism permits nothing to be done in the name of the church without the distinct consent of the brotherhood.

"While Presbyterianism regards synods and presbyteries as judicatories, having a right to decide all controversies judicially, and send down injunctions to the churches, Congregationalism must needs regard them only as meetings for intercourse and communion, as councils to advise and persuade in matters of common interest, and as means of keeping up a common feeling among neighboring churches and the distant members of the great union. It acknowledges no power over the churches, but the power of LIGHT AND LOVE."

Rev. Dr. Vaughan says, "Every Christian should be a member of the church of his preference, but he should still be a member of the church universal. He should not be indifferent to principle, but he should be observant of charity. He should know how to unite with the love of his particular church, a proper affection towards all churches, and should give visible proof that the latter feeling exists along with the former." — *Cong.* 116.

SEE MEMORIAL, PAGE 110.

Rev. George Phillips is very favorably noticed in the *Magnalia*. He was born at Raymund, Norfolk, England, and took his degrees in 1613 and 1617. He was eminent as a scholar and divine. With Sir Richard Saltonstall and several others, he chose a place upon Charles River, which they called Watertown, and as their first work they observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, on which day, 30th of July, 1630, about forty men organized themselves into a church and built a house of God before they could build many houses for themselves. Mr. Phillips continued his ministry there till his death in 1644, during which time he labored faithfully and with great success. He had an unusually intimate and thorough knowledge of the Scriptures. It is said, he read over the whole Bible six times every year. He was truly a man of God, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.

A long list of men distinguishing the name of Phillips in our country, by their civil stations and munificent patronage of institutions of learning, benevolence, and religion, descends from this first pastor of Watertown.

Rev. Samuel Phillips, the eldest son of Rev. George Phillips, was settled in the ministry at Rowley in 1651. Rev. Samuel Phillips, grandson of Rev. Samuel Phillips of Rowley, was settled in the ministry at Andover in 1711. Hon. John Phillips, many years President of the Senate of Massachusetts, and the first mayor of the city of Boston, was grandson of Mr. John Phillips of Salem, who was grandson of Rev. Samuel Phillips of Rowley. Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover, had five children. His eldest son, Hon. Samuel Phillips of Andover, and his brother, Hon. John Phillips of Exeter, N. H., founded the Academy at Andover, which bears their name, who declared that the first and principal object of the institution is the promotion of true piety and virtue.

Lieut. Gov. Samuel Phillips of Andover, was son of the above Hon. Samuel Phillips. He was from early life constantly engaged in various public and highly responsible offices, which he discharged in a manner highly creditable to himself, till 1801, when he was chosen Lieut. Governor. His conspicuous services, talents, and virtues, placed him very high in the popular affection and confidence.

John Phillips, second son of Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover, was

settled in business at Exeter, N. H. He made liberal endowments to the Academy at Andover, to Dartmouth College, and to Phillips Academy at Exeter, which he founded.

William Phillips, third son of Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover, was settled in business at Boston, and married Miss Abigail Broomfield, who was great-great-grandchild of Rev. John Wilson, the first minister in Boston. By this marriage, it is worthy of notice, the families of the Rev. George Phillips and the Rev. John Wilson, who came over from England together, and officiated as colleagues under a large tree in Charlestown, until the one removed to Watertown and the other to Boston, were conjoined by the wedlock of the great-great-grandchild of each.

The late Hon. William Phillips was the second child of the above William Phillips. He was for many years in the State legislature, and was repeatedly an elector of the President of the United States. For several years he was Lieut. Governor of the Commonwealth, which office he filled with great credit to himself, and entire satisfaction to the community. In his natural disposition he was generous and affectionate. But the predominating feature and crowning attribute of his character was his piety and benevolence. He left behind him, as did his predecessors in the family, a precious memorial; and while his name stands prominent among the public benefactors of his age, it is also deeply engraven on the hearts, and will be embalmed in the memory of many a child of affliction, from whose eye the tear of sorrow has been wiped by his kindly charity. He was married to the daughter of the late Hon. Jonathan Mason. He had seven children, only two of whom are now living—the Hon. Jonathan Phillips of Boston, and Mrs. Dr. Ebenezer Burgess of Dedham. The Hon. Samuel H. Walley of Roxbury, is a grandson.

Such have been the descendants of the Rev. George Phillips, the first pastor of the church at Watertown, a remarkable fulfilment of the precious promises of God to the faithful. Says the author of the *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, “the family of Phillips in Massachusetts and New Hampshire has been long distinguished for its wealth, and also for its love of religion and literature. A complete history of the munificence toward public institutions at different times by the members of this family, would probably furnish an amount of benefactions seldom equalled in this country.” (See Rev. B. Wisner’s Sermon on the death of Hon. William Phillips.)

A. PAGE 99.

THE ARTICLES OF FAITH AND COVENANT OF 1629.

Judge Davis, in his edition, seems to have overlooked the fact, that the "Direction" of which Morton speaks, contained both a Confession of Faith and a Covenant. Hubbard, Mather, and Prince, have also spoken of a Confession of Faith as well as a Covenant. And this should not be omitted in a faithful history of the principles and proceedings of the Fathers.

In 1665, the First Church in Salem issued a new "Direction," which was occasioned by the action of the Synod of 1662, in regard to baptism, and the half-way Covenant.

From this it appears that there was a Confession of Faith, and a Covenant, 6th of August, 1629.

Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, and other good people that arrived at Salem in the year 1629, resolved, like their father Abraham, to begin their plantation with calling on the name of the Lord.

On their arrival at Salem, they consulted with their brethren at Plymouth what steps to take for the more exact acquaintance of themselves with, and conforming themselves to the word of God, in their church organization and polity. And the Plymouthans, to their great satisfaction, laid before them the authority they had in the laws of their Lord Jesus Christ for every particular in their church order.

Whereupon, having the concurrence and countenance of their deputy governor, John Endicott, Esq., and the approving presence of the messengers from the church of Plymouth, they set apart the 6th day of August for fasting and prayer, for the settling of a church state among them, and for their making a Confession of their faith, and entering into an holy covenant, whereby that church state was formed. See *Magnalia*, 66.

A DIRECTION FOR A PUBLIC PROFESSION

In the Church Assembly after giving examination by the elders; which direction is taken out of the Scripture, and points unto that faith and covenant contained in the Scripture; being the same for

substance which was proposed to, and agreed upon by the church of Salem at their beginning, the sixth of the sixth month, 1629.

In the Preface to the Declaration of the Faith owned and professed by the Congregational Churches in England, it is said:—

“The genuineness of a confession of faith is, that under the same form of words they express the substance of the same common salvation or unity of their faith; accordingly it is to be looked upon as fit means whereby to express their common faith and salvation, and not be made use of as an imposition upon any.”

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I do believe with my heart and confess with my mouth:—

CONCERNING GOD.

That there is but one only true God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; each of them God, and all of them one and the same infinite, eternal God: most wise, holy, just, merciful, and blessed for ever.

CONCERNING THE WORKS OF GOD.

That this God is the maker, preserver, and governor of all things, according to the counsel of his own will, and that God made man in his own image, in knowledge, holiness, and righteousness.

CONCERNING THE FALL OF MAN.

That Adam, by transgressing the command of God, fell from God, and brought himself and his posterity into a state of sin and death, under the wrath and curse of God, which I do believe to be my own condition by nature, as well as any other.

CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST.

That God sent his son into the world, who, for our sakes, became man, that he might redeem and save us by his obedience unto death, and that he arose from the dead, ascended unto heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, from whence he shall come to judge the world.

CONCERNING THE HOLY GHOST.

That God the Holy Ghost hath fully revealed the doctrine of Christ and will of God, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which are the word of God, the perfect, perpetual, and only rule of our faith and obedience.

CONCERNING THE BENEFITS WE HAVE BY CHRIST.

That the same Spirit by working faith in God's elect, applieth unto them Christ, with all his benefits of justification and sanctification unto salvation, in the use of those ordinances which God hath appointed in his written word, which therefore ought to be observed by us until the coming of Christ.

CONCERNING THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

That all true believers being united unto Christ as the head, make up one mystical church, which is the body of Christ, the members whereof having fellowship with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by faith; and one with another in love, do receive here upon earth forgiveness of sins, with the life of grace; and at the resurrection of the body, they shall receive everlasting life. Amen.

THE COVENANT.

I do heartily take and avouch this one God who is made known to us in the Scripture, by the name of God the Father, and God the Son, even Jesus Christ, and God the Holy Ghost, to be my God, according to the tenor of the covenant of grace; wherein he hath promised to be a God to the faithful and to their seed after them in their generations, and taketh them to be his people, and, therefore, unfeignedly repenting of all my sins, I do give up myself wholly unto this God, to believe in, love, serve, and obey him sincerely and faithfully according to his written word, against all the temptations of the devil, the world, and my own flesh, and this unto the death.

I do also confess to be a member of this particular church, promising to continue steadfastly in fellowship in it, in the public worship of God, to submit to the order, discipline, and government of Christ in

it, and to the ministerial teaching, guidance, and oversight of the elders of it, and to the brotherly watch of fellow members, and all this according to God's word, and by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, enabling me thereunto. Amen.

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED AT THE BAPTIZING OF CHILDREN,
OR THE SUBSTANCE TO BE EXPRESSED BY THE PARENTS.

Q. Do you present and give up this child, or these children, unto God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be baptized in the faith, and engaged in the Covenant of God professed by this church?

Q. Do you solemnly promise in the presence of God, that by the grace of Christ, you will discharge your covenant duty towards your children, so as to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, teaching and commanding them to keep the way of God, that they may be able (through the grace of Christ), to make a personal profession of their faith, and to own the covenant of God themselves in due time?

Cotton Mather says, "the Covenant whereto these Christians engaged themselves, which was about seven years after solemnly renewed among them, I shall here lay before all the churches of God as it was then expressed and enforced."—*Mag.* i. 66.

Mather further says, "By this instrument was the covenant of grace explained, received, and recognized by the first church in this colony. This instrument they afterwards often read over, and renewed the consent of their souls unto every article in it, especially when their days of humiliation invited them to it."

The Covenant published in *Magnalia*, and by Judge Davis, in his Appendix, was probably enlarged from this original at the time of the renewal, seven years after this first Covenant was adopted in Aug. 1629, which is here given.

The following Covenant was propounded by the pastor, agreed upon and consented to by the brethren of the church, in the year 1636.

"Gather my saints unto me, that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice." Psal. l. 5.

We whose names are here underwritten, members of the present church of Christ in Salem, having found by sad experience, how dan-

gerous it is to sit loose from the covenant we make with our God, and how apt we are to wander into bypaths, even to the loosing of our first aims in entering into church fellowship, do therefore solemnly, in the presence of the eternal God, both for our own comforts and those who shall or may be joined unto us, renew the church covenant, we find this church bound unto at their first beginning, namely, that "we covenant with the Lord and one with another, and do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth;" and do more explicitly in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ and the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave to him alone for life and glory, and to oppose all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.

We promise to walk with our brethren and sisters with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of the Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church; but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

We will not in the congregation be forward, either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking and scrupling, or there discover the weakness and failings of our brethren; but attend an orderly call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonored, and his gospel and the profession of it slighted, by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as needs shall be, not laying a stumblingblock before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well

pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by not grieving their spirits through our irregularities.

We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of any State, and will not deal hardly or oppressingly with any wherein we are the Lord's stewards. Also, promising to our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God and his will, that they may serve him also, and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant, made in his name.

COVENANT OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN CHARLESTOWN.

June 30, 1630, the first church in Charlestown was formed, and a covenant entered into; and this was the foundation of the first church in Boston. It is in these words: "We whose names are here underwritten, being by God's most wise and good providence, brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite into one congregation or church under the Lord Jesus Christ our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to Himself:—

"Do hereby solemnly and religiously (in his most holy presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances and in mutual love and respect each to other, so near as God shall give us grace." — *Drake's Hist. Boston*, 93.

THE FOUNDERS OF NEW PLYMOUTH.*

I have reason to know that the subject on which we are about to enter possesses a strong American interest; but it cannot be said to be without a claim on the attention of Englishmen also. The settlement of New Plymouth, says Governor Hutchinson, writing in 1767, "occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which was the source of all the other colonies in New England;" and he speaks of the persons by whom it was founded as "the founders of a flourishing town and colony, if not of the whole British Empire in America." And to cite another English authority, when Sir Charles Lyell had viewed the relics of these founders, which are preserved in the Museum at New Plymouth, he remarks, "when we consider the grandeur of the results which have been realized in the interval of two hundred and twenty-five years since the Mayflower sailed into Plymouth harbor, how in that period, a nation of twenty millions had sprung into existence and peopled a vast continent, and covered it with cities and churches, schools, colleges, and railroads, and filled its rivers and ports with steamboats and shipping, we regard the Pilgrim relics with veneration."

I therefore proceed, without further apology or preface, to introduce to the reader the persons who were chief actors in this movement, and to speak of the influences which operated to produce the strong devotional sentiment by which they were actuated, and at last determined them to leave their homes and commit themselves to the uncertainties and many dangers attending a removal to a distant and uncultivated shore.

The body of persons who laid the foundation of New Plymouth, was one of these churches or communities of Puritan Separatists; persons so impatient under the yoke of the ceremonies which had

* The following pages are from "The Founders of New Plymouth," by Rev. Joseph Hunter, a book just published in England, containing something new, and identifying more satisfactorily than has been done before, the place of the first ecclesiastical organization of the Separatists, and of the residence of Bradford and Brewster, and a number of the leading Puritans and Pilgrims, which will interest all who are curious to trace the Pilgrim movement to its origin.

been continued in the Reformed Church of England, that they had begun to regard it as unlawful to remain in the church, and who had formed themselves in church order, based upon their own principles, and consisting of a people with the offices of pastor, teacher, elders, and deacons. It was not one of the London communities of this kind; but, what gives this subject the greater interest, it was a church that had been formed in quite a rural district, in a county far remote from London.

It remained, till the publication of my "Collections" on this subject, an undetermined question, to what point we are to look for the place of meeting of this church or community, for discipline and worship, and consequently, from what English population the members of it were gathered. Dr. Cotton Mather, whose "Magnalia," a folio volume, printed in 1702, contains much valuable information concerning New England and its early settlers, is content with saying, after Morton in his "New England's Memorial," 1669, that the founders of New Plymouth came from "the north of England." Hubbard, another early writer on the affairs of New England, uses the same expression.

"These people," that is, the persons who were Puritan Separatists, says Bradford, "became two distinct bodies or churches, in regard of distance of place, and did congregate severally, for they were of several towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some in Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together."

One of these two churches was at Gainsborough, a well-known place, the other, which is that about which we are now concerned, was elsewhere.

Bradford's writings are exceedingly valuable, though we have reason to regret that he shuts up so many things in general expressions. Yet it is to a passage in another of his writings, that we are indebted for the information which enables me now to dispel all uncertainty on this point, and to fix the locality of this church or community to a particular place. "They ordinarily met," says he, in his Life of William Brewster, "at his (Brewster's) house on the Lord's day, which was a manor of the bishop's, and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge, and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England." This, when it is combined with the preceding note of place, "near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire," guides us at once to the village of SCROOBY, in the hundred of Basset-Lawe, a part of North Nottinghamshire, well known in Parliamentary history; that

being the only place comprising an Episcopal manor that was near the borders of the three counties.

Scrooby manor was near to the borders both of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, though itself in the county of Nottingham. It was also an ancient possession and occasional residence of the Archbishop of York.

No reasonable doubt can therefore ever arise that the seat and centre of that religious community which afterwards planted itself on the shores of New England was at this Nottinghamshire village of Scrooby, a place little known to fame, but acquiring from this accident a certain amount of historical interest. The claims of this village, though hitherto unnoticed, do not rest entirely on what I have now said; for to make their establishment complete, recourse was had to the Rolls, which contain assessments of the subsidies granted by Parliament, and there was found that in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, 1571, there was a William Brewster assessed in the township of Scrooby-cum-Ranskill, on goods of the annual value of three pounds; and in other accounts, that in 1608, William Brewster and two other persons, all described as "of Scrooby, Brownists or Separatists," were certified into the exchequer for fines imposed upon them by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, for non-appearance to a citation. Further evidence of Brewster's residence at Scrooby will appear as we proceed.

Scrooby will be found in the maps, about a mile and a half south of Bawtry, a market and post-town situated on the boundary line between Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. It was itself, in the time when Brewster resided there, one of the post-towns on the great road from London to Berwick.

Leland, who visited the place in 1541, gives this account of it: "In the meane townlet of Scrooby, I marked two things — the parish church not big but very well builded; the second was a great manor place, standing within a moat, and belonging to the Archbishop of York; builded in two courts, whereof the first is very ample, and all builded of timber, saving the front of the house that is of brick, to the which *ascenditur per gradus lapideos*. The inner court building, as far as I marked, was of timber building, and was not in compass past the fourth-part of the outer court." It had belonged to the see of York, in the time of the Domesday book.

But though Scrooby was the residence of William Brewster, the chief agent in this movement, and his house was opened for worship and discipline to the persons who thought and acted with him, it is

not to Scrooby only that we are to look for the persons composing the church, who were drawn from various places in the surrounding country. The vicinity of Scrooby was in those times, and is now, an agricultural district; having a few villages scattered about, each with its church, and perhaps an esquire's seat.

It is certainly a very remarkable circumstance (apart from the consideration of the very important consequences which ensued upon it), that there should have arisen among such a population as that of Basset-Lawe, a spirit so strong and so determined, or that it could have been induced to enter such a field of controversy at all. And it becomes the more remarkable, when we observe how few persons in those times had, in any part of the country, separated themselves from the church, and formed themselves into single self-directed communities. Not but that in most other parts of the kingdom the Puritan objections to the ceremonies were felt by many minds, and many were the persons who would gladly have seen the yoke of ceremonies removed: but there is a great difference between this uneasiness in a forced acquiescence and the actual withdrawing from all communion, throwing off the authority of the church, and the authority of the State too, as far as respected affairs of religion. The Separatist was a Puritan, but the Puritan was not necessarily a Separatist; and the extraordinary feature in this case is, that the Puritanism of Basset-Lawe was so deep a sentiment, that it urged so many to the act of separation, and afterwards to the desperate measure of emigration, while in other parts of the country, with few exceptions, though there were Puritan emigrants who sought relief from the ceremonies and subscriptions, there were few or none who had while at home entered into church union, as the Scrooby people did, and then took their departure a compact and united body. There is no doubt a great overruling power in all human affairs; but our concern is with second causes, and it is to be believed that we often deceive ourselves when we attempt to recover general principles from which things remarkable in the acts of men have arisen.*

This is the spirit in which Bradford, a native of Austerfield, a village a few miles from Scrooby, and an early member of the church, writes in all the historical tracts which we owe to him. It may be proper to observe, that no one understood better than he what the people had thought, and done, and suffered while in England, or what

* See Bradford's account of the state of religious feeling about Scrooby.

their condition while in Holland, and after they had become permanently settled on the American continent. He was the governor of New Plymouth colony for many years, while Brewster was the elder, but uniting in himself also the offices of pastor and teacher, till a minister became settled among them.

Their residence in Holland was for one year at Amsterdam, and eleven years at Leyden, whence they began to remove to America in 1620.

The person whom Bradford places first among the ministers, who was a Separatist himself, and who made others Separatists, is John Smith.

Another very zealous Puritan minister in these parts was Richard Bernard, who had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of Mr. Smith, for not going to the same excess in his non-conformity.

Another of these ministers was Richard Clifton.

When the Separatists, who remained in Nottinghamshire after the removal of Smith's church into Holland, formed themselves in church order, Clifton became either pastor or teacher, probably the latter, while John Robinson held the other office, and Brewster was the ruling elder. I find that he was instituted on July 11th, 1586, to the rectory of Babworth, a country village a short distance from Serooby, now the seat of the family of Simpson (Bridgman), the present incumbent being one of that family. He is also in all probability the minister of the same name who was instituted on February the 12th, 1585, to the vicarage of Marnham in the same county of Nottingham. He was the son of a Thomas Clifton, who lived at one of the Normantons in the county of Derby.

He was born at Normanton, and married Anne, daughter of J. Stuffen of Warsop, in the county of Nottingham, September, anno 1586. He was minister and preacher of the gospel at Babworth, in the said county, and had issue by his wife three sons, Zachary, Timothy, and Eleazer; and three daughters, Mary, Hannah, and Priscilla, all born at Babworth aforesaid.

He, with his wife and children, came unto Amsterdam in Holland, August, 1608. He died at Amsterdam, 20th May, 1616, and was buried in the South church. — *Vixit Ann.* 63.

We are thus enabled to fix the time of his birth to in or about 1553, so that he was not much above fifty years old when he fell under the animadversions of the ecclesiastical authorities. The precise date of his departure to Holland, August, 1608, is valuable, inasmuch as we have hitherto been left to gather that important date

from information not critically given. He married, we see, just when he had obtained the rectory of Babworth, which has always been considered a desirable piece of preferment. His wife was a member of a Derbyshire family of ancient gentry, the Stuffyns of Sherbrook, in the parish of Pleaseley in Derbyshire, to which the Nottinghamshire parish of Warsop adjoins. She lived five years and he seven in their voluntary exile; and when we see in what a disturbed state the church at Amsterdam was, which he joined when his companions of his own church, with Robinson and Brewster at their head, removed to Leyden, it is perhaps no unreasonable inference that they both sank not unwillingly as well as religiously to their rest.

The connection of this Mr. Clifton with the old family of Clifton, of Clifton in Nottinghamshire, is not known; but it is probable that there was some connection from the identity of surname, proximity of residence, and correspondency of position; and this is rendered more probable by his marriage in the family of Stuffyn, who, we are told by the Lysonses, could trace their ancestry from the reign of King Edward the First. One of the latest memorials of them was a monumental inscription in the church of Pleaseley, of which the following is a copy. The original has disappeared since 1802:—

“Here with his ancestors lyeth the mortal part of John Stuffyn of Sherbrook, gentleman, who, at his house there, in the month of January, A. D. 1695, yielded up his loyal breath, aged 80 years. He left issue by Mary his wife, daughter and sole heir of John Ferne, of Hopton, gentleman, John Stuffyn of Sherbrook, son and heir of Hopton of the inheritance of his mother, and Mary and Bridget (William and Hercules died without issue).”

The heiress married in the family of Hacker.

The three daughters of Mr. Clifton died before the family left England, in infancy or childhood: but the three sons seem to have accompanied their parents into exile, and to have thenceforth lived for the most part at Amsterdam, where two of them died; viz. Timothy, who was born in 1595 and died in 1663, and Eleazer, born in 1598 and died in 1668.

Zachary Clifton, the eldest son, to whom the Bible belonged, and who wrote most of the family memoranda, was born on May 12, 1589. In the earlier part of his life he lived at Richmond, in Yorkshire, for there the two children, issue of his first marriage, were born in 1620 and 1625; and there his wife, a daughter of Arthur Hipps of that place, by Dorothy Johnson his wife, died in 1625, aged twenty-six. Five years after we find him living at Amsterdam, where, on April

22, 1631, he married his second wife Elisabeth, daughter of Lawrence and Catherine Wayte, of Cookridge, near Leeds. Of this marriage there was issue, ten children, who were all born at Amsterdam, between 1632 and 1648. On November 1st, 1652, he left Amsterdam, and about two months after fixed his residence at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he appears to have lived for the remainder of his life. He died there on May 26th, 1673, and was buried in All-Hallows Church.

Richard Clifton, clerk, was named in 1593, one of the two supervisors of the will of Richard Jessop, of Heyton, near Babworth, gentleman, whose younger brother, Francis Jessop, appears to have been the person of that name, whom we find fighting by the side of Clifton in the controversies which so much disturbed the harmony of the English emigrants at Amsterdam. And with Clifton was joined another clergyman, Thomas Toller, who contributed to raise that spirit of opposition to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the country which led ultimately to the emigration: for it is certain that he was, during a pretty long life, one of the most zealous Puritan ministers of the time, strong in his opposition to the ceremonies, though not going the extreme length of separation.

ROBERT GIFFORD is the name of another minister spoken of by Bradford as having been "hotly persecuted by the Prelates," and who may therefore be presumed to be one of those who contributed to produce the strong Puritan feeling which pervaded these parts of the kingdom. He is classed by Toller among those ministers who "seemed weary of the ceremonies." His benefice was Laughton-en-le-Morthen, in Yorkshire, but adjoining to the parish of Worksop. In him the spirit of non-conformity was not so powerful as to urge him to separation, but, like his neighbor Bernard of Worksop, he so far conformed as to retain possession of his benefice, which he kept till his death in 1649.

HUGH BROMHEAD, a native of these regions, being of the family of the name which was seated at North Wheatley. He was amongst the early emigrants to Holland, perhaps going in company with Smith. He settled at Amsterdam, and we have it upon his own authority, that he was a member of Smith's church.

When Smith and his church had removed themselves to Holland, what was wanted by those persons who had come to the determination to break off from the communion of the general Church of England, and who did not choose to accompany or to follow Smith, was a central point at which they could assemble for worship and for discipline, and

a central person about whom they might cling, and to whose guidance and judgment they might be willing to defer.

And this seems to have been the position which was occupied by WILLIAM BREWSTER, which was at once what he desired and what was yielded to him by his simpler and less cultivated neighbors around. He fully sympathized with them and with the ministers of whom we have spoken, in his dislike of the ceremonies, his disapprobation of the constitution of the church; his hatred of those measures of severity by which it was thought to extinguish the Puritan spirit; in his admiration of the Puritan life; and in his persuasion that there was in Scripture, indications of the kind of form in which communities of Christians should be constituted sufficient to guide the practice of Christians in all times. And being a little raised above the rest in fortune, attainments, and social position, all we read of him seems to be but in the natural course of things, and had there been no Brewster at hand, it is probable that no Separatist church would have been gathered after Smith and the Gainsborough people had withdrawn; but the Basset-Lawe mind would have returned to its former state of quietude when the generation which had been wrought upon by the overzealous Puritan ministers had passed away.

Brewster's, therefore, is a most important name in the history of this movement, and we have now to collect what we can of his English history. Little enough it is for such a man, and for that little we are chiefly indebted to his friend and biographer, Bradford. Yet I have to add one important fact, which it is extraordinary that Bradford should have omitted.

"After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue and some insight into the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and there being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the Court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr. Davison, divers years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithful, as he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private, he would converse with him more like a familiar than a master. He attended his master when he was sent in ambassage by the Queen into the Low Countries (in the Earl of Leicester's time), as for other weighty affairs of State, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns; and in token and sign thereof the keys of Flushing being delivered to him

in her Majesty's name, he kept them some time, and committed them to his servant, who kept them under the pillow on which he slept the first night, and at his return the State honored him with a gold chain, and his master committed it to him and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they rode through the country, until they came to the Court. He afterwards remained with him until his troubles, when he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots, and some good time after, doing him many offices of service in the time of his troubles."

His affiliation is also a point not yet ascertained. There was a family of Brewsters inhabitants of this part of Nottinghamshire in the Tudor reigns.

The name of Brewster, which is of the same obvious origin with the surname Brewer, is one of those which might originate in many different places, and is therefore not to be looked upon as binding all those who inherited it in the bonds of consanguinity.

It is, however, a fact worthy our notice, that there was community of opinion as well as of surname between the emigrant to America and the Brewsters in Suffolk. Of this the continued existence of the little Independent chapel at Wrentham, which was built by one of the Brewsters of Suffolk after the restoration for a congregation of Separatists, is an obvious proof. In correspondence with this is another fact, that Francis Brewster of Wrentham was nearly connected by marriage with two of the most eminent Puritan ministers of the time of King Charles the First, Edmund Calamy and Matthew Newcomen, two of the Smectymnus, and that his son Robert Brewster, was a member of one of Cromwell's Parliaments. The Brewsters of the county of Suffolk, were a family of coat armor bearing a chevron ermine between three silver étoiles on a sable field,— stars breaking through the darkness of night; a suitable device for the American Brewster.

Brewster must have been a man of some position by birth to have obtained an appointment in Davison's service. His residence in the family of Davison may of itself account for his original leaning to the Puritan party; for Davison was eminently a Puritan himself, one of the more reflective and philosophical, we may believe, of the party, extending his views, as Brewster did, beyond the mere ceremonies, to the great principles which ought to govern men in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and in their dealings with each other respecting them. I know not that we have decided evidence of what were Davison's opinions on these points or what his own religious practice may have been. There was possibly another influence working on

Brewster while he lived with Davison : George Cranmer, another of Davison's assistants or servants, being fond of theological and ecclesiastical studies, having been a pupil of Hooker and assisting him in his work on Ecclesiastical Polity. He also lived much with Sir Edwin Sandys, who is quite to be ranked among the ecclesiastical inquirers and reformers of the time.

That Serooby was the place to which he removed, has been already shown ; it is also shown who were some of the clergy with whom he must have associated ; and I have now to add, what has not before been surmised, that his life in this the active period was not one of meditation only, and acts of voluntary exertion, but that he held an important office at Serooby, which must have made large demands upon his thoughts and time for things which were purely secular ; and which brought to him a certain annual income, perhaps the best part of his revenues. This Bradford has not told us.

I have already stated that Serooby was a post-town on the great road from London to Berwick. It communicated with Tuxford on the south, and Doncaster on the north. It occurred to me when casting about for any possible source of information respecting this principal person in the movement, that this being the case, if any accounts of the Postmaster-General of the time when Brewster lived were in existence, something might be found in them respecting him. Such accounts do exist : and in them I found not a few casual notices of Brewster as an inhabitant of Serooby, but that *he himself held for many years the office of postmaster*, or post, as the term then was, at Serooby.

The earliest accounts of the Postmaster-General now known to exist are those of Thomas Randolph, which begin in 1566, and after him of Sir John Stanhope, who was appointed to the office by letters patent bearing date at Westminster, June 20th, in the thirty-second year of Elizabeth, 1590. Unfortunately, Randolph's accounts do not present us with the names of the postmasters on the road, nor do those of Sir John Stanhope for the first four years of his tenure of the office. But in his account declared before Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer, and Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the last day of March, 1597, for the three preceding years, the names of the postmasters at the different stages on the great roads are all set forth, and so continued to be for all the time that Sir John Stanhope held the office.

In this account, from April, 1597, occurs the following entry :—

“ William Brewster, post of Serooby, for his ordinary wages serving her Majesty all the time aforesaid, at 20*d.* per diem, £91, 6*s.* 8*d.*”

Sir John Stanhope next accounts for the two years April 1, 1597, to March 31, 1599. Here we have the same entry of the payment to Brewster, of £60, 16s. 8d.

Again he accounts for the three years, from April 1, 1599, to March 31, 1602, with the same entry of the payment to Brewster of £91, 6s. 8d.

Sir John Stanhope accounts again from April 1, 1602, to March 31, 1605. Here we find that the daily wages of Brewster had been advanced from 20d. to 2s. a day, from the 1st of July, 1603, as expressed in the following entry :—

“William Brewster, post of Scrooby, for his wages as well at 20d. per diem for 456 days, begun the 1st of April, 1602, and ended the last of June, 1603, £38 : as also at 2s. per diem for 640 days, begun the 1st of July, 1603, and ended the last of March, 1605, £102.”

The next account is for two years, viz. from April 1, 1605, to March 31, 1607. Brewster receives £73.

The latest account in which Brewster's name occurs is that from April 1, 1607, to March 31, 1609 :—

“William Brewster, post of Scrooby, for his wages at 2s. per diem for 183 days, begun the first of April, 1607, and ended the last of September, 1607, £18, 6s.; and then Francis Hall succeeding him at 2s. per diem for 548 days, begun the 1st of October, 1607, and ended the last of March, 1609, £73, 2s.”

It is much to be regretted that the name of each postmaster was not given for a few years earlier, as we should then have been able to arrive at the precise period when Brewster received this appointment, and this would have shown us how soon after the fall of Davison he was provided for by this government appointment. All we know on this head is, that he was in full possession on the 1st of April, 1594, and that he continued to hold the office till the 30th of September, 1607, on which day he resigned it, and a successor was appointed.

Now the holding this office explains to us in the first place how it happens that we find him inhabiting such a mansion as the Manor, which had been the residence of an archbishop, disproportionate we must believe to the circumstances of Brewster as a private man, but not so to one who had to keep relays of horses for forwarding the letters, and to find rest and refreshment for travellers on this the great highway to the north. The office of postmaster on the great roads in those days was one requiring more attention and bringing with it higher responsibilities than the same office at present, when it is little more than the receiving and transmitting letters on a system well con-

sidered and already in full operation ; but in those days there were no cross-posts, so that the few postmasters who were dotted about the country had to provide for very distant deliveries, which must have been done by special despatches, as well as to discharge the functions of the innkeeper for the travellers *by post*.

In Brewster's days Roland Whyte, the lively correspondent of many of the nobility of the time, was the " Post of the Court ;" and it may serve to show other acquaintance at least of Brewster, if we state, that Henry Foster was during the whole of his time the post of Tuxford ; John Heyford, the post of Ferrybridge, and Nicholas Heyford, and after him, Ralph Aslaby, the post of Doncaster. Heyford and Aslaby were both respectable families in the south part of the West-riding of Yorkshire, corresponding in position, it may be believed, with the Brewsters. And this leads me to remark, that though I cannot but wish that Bradford had informed us that Brewster held this office, yet that his holding it is by no means inconsistent with what Bradford does relate of him. It does not, for instance, invalidate his having been at the University, or his having been in the service of a Secretary of State, and having fallen with his master. His holding this office is indeed rather favorable to these representations than the contrary, since it shows that he had among those who were the dispensers of government patronage. Nor in such an office would he be precluded from nursing a brood of discontents, and from comparing political chicanery with the simplicity of the Gospel, or from indulging in religious inquiry, religious meditation, and religious exercises. It would not prevent him from associating with the better part of the population around him, among whom there must have been many who were wrought upon by the preachers of whom we have spoken, or from being instrumental in bringing Puritan ministers to the neighboring churches as they became vacant ; and we may believe also that it supplied the means, in some measure at least, by which he maintained so much hospitality and did so much good by his purse. It does not appear in any thing that is yet known of them that the Brewsters of Nottinghamshire had lands of their own, the chief source of income to gentlemen in those days who were not engaged in public employments.

Brewster, we see, held the office till the last day of September, 1607. Here is another date of importance in his life ; but now arises the question, under what circumstances did he retire from his employment ; was it voluntary or forced resignation ? Did he retire having formed the intention of following the example of Smith by removing

himself and his little church to Holland? or, was he removed by the government of the time to signify the disapprobation which they could not but feel at seeing the countenance which he gave to the Separatists, and that he himself was in a regular course of action which, as the law then stood, was in defiance of public authority, and subjecting him to large penalties? It may be in the power of some future inquirer to answer these questions; but for the present it must be acknowledged that it is only a proximate solution at which we can arrive; and that the probabilities seem rather to incline to its being a forced removal than a voluntary retirement. What we actually *know* is, that before the September of that year the Church was brought into some order: Robinson and Clifton were become the pastor and teacher, and he the elder; that in April, 1608, he had been fined by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes for non-appearance to their citation; and that it was in August, 1608, that Clifton arrived at Amsterdam. The date 1607, in Bradford's margin, leads us to suppose that he removed from Scrooby with the intention of proceeding to Holland before the close of that year.

The question which next arises in considering the proceedings of William Brewster is, at what precise period it was that the scattered elements of disaffection to the church as by law established, were brought to collect themselves about the centre at his house at Scrooby, and the dissidents became forward in a Separatist or Congregational or Independent Church, those terms being identical and only other names for the same things. That there was a precise period when this was done, and that it was not that the concentration was brought about by slow and almost imperceptible degrees, is evident from what was the general practice of communities such as these. They usually began with the entering into a solemn covenant to walk together in a Christian course according to the direction of the word of God, and the choice of the officers which, according to their views, were those, and those only, which were pointed out in Scripture: namely, as we have before stated, pastor, teacher, elders, and deacons. Manuscripts remain containing accounts of such beginnings of Separatist churches in other places of a later date, with lists of persons who then entered into communion; and greatly is it to be wished that among the discoveries in literary and religious history, the record of the first beginning of the Scrooby church should be discovered. It would be a treasure indeed for New England history, and for the Museum of New Plymouth.

This, however, is an event rather to be desired than expected, and we must be content to confine ourselves to making an approximation to the time, and to introducing a new name into our narrative, in the pastor or teacher (for it is uncertain which), whom these Basset-Lawe Separatists elected. And first with respect to the time.

The year 1602 is placed in the margin of Bradford's account of Brewster against the notice, "After they were joined together into communion, he was a special stay and help to them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day." But this date, if there is not some mistake, must relate to an earlier church-union than that of which we are speaking, perhaps a union which comprehended also the people who afterwards composed Smith's church at Gainsborough; for Bradford also tells us that when the church in Brewster's house began to move towards Holland, which was certainly in the winter of 1607 and 1608, they had continued together, "about a year keeping their meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves." So that it would seem that the true beginning of this church as distinct from that of Smith, is to be fixed to the year 1606, about two years after the emigration of Smith and his people.

That Brewster was chosen the elder, and Clifton either the pastor or teacher (probably the latter), seems to admit of no doubt; but at this stage another person appears to have been introduced among them, whose name is the most prominent in all the subsequent history of the church, and who has left the most printed writings by which his opinions and character may be understood. He accompanied the Scrooby church when it removed to Holland, was with it while it remained at Amsterdam, transferred himself with it to Leyden, and witnessed its departure for America, intending, it is understood, to go thither himself, though he never actually took that step. This was JOHN ROBINSON, who had inherited, like Smith, one of those names which are really in a large population like that of England, no *notamina*, affording, therefore, little assistance to the critical inquirer. But we know him to have been chosen into one of the highest offices in this church, and we know him, also, by the works which he left behind him, to have been a man of a superior cast of character. He was moreover a man whose writings may be read now for instruction. I cannot go so far as some persons do and value his essays with those of Bacon; but he must be insensible indeed, who

does not acknowledge that there is no small amount of original thinking in them, and hints which may be applied by any man with advantage in the regulation of his thoughts and conduct. He was also a further seeing man than some who were associated with him, seeing that having deserted the church and renounced its authority, it was not to be supposed that they and their posterity would remain stationary precisely where they at first rested, but that further light might be expected to be struck out by the labor of men of learning, and that it would be their duty as well as their privilege to follow the light that was vouchsafed to them. Historically, indeed, this has been eminently the case both in England and America, and has raised in both countries the question before the legal tribunals, how far men have a right to go in the pursuit of religious truth, who have renounced authority, and where the law shall step in and say, — Thus far shalt thou go and no further. Such a man is deserving of honor, especially as he added to these something of the meekness of wisdom, much as compared with Smith and some other of the Separatists: "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect enjoyed." This is the testimony of Robert Baillie, of Glasgow, an eminent Scotch Presbyterian.

It must have been a great advantage to the Basset-Lawe Separatists to have secured the assistance of such a minister as this: and it now becomes a point which it is well worth while to consider, how it happened that such a connection should be formed, since among the few things which are known of the early history of Robinson this is one, that he was living in the earlier part of the reign of James the First, in the county of Norfolk, and particularly at Norwich. Now, we have already seen that two of the divines of whom we have spoken had been educated at Christ College, Cambridge, (Emmanuel College wherein many other Puritan ministers were educated, was then scarcely formed,) and among the persons who were admitted there in the year 1592, is a John Robinson who took the degree of M. A., and became a fellow in 1598. This we learn from Mr. Masters' printed list of the members of this college, 4to, 1749, and he further informs us that in the register of the college, this Robinson is said to have been of the county of Lincoln, and adding the conjecture that he is the John Robinson who subsequently lived in Holland. This appears to be a very probable conjecture; and I find Mr. Ashton, to whom I pointed out the passage in Masters, is inclined to adopt it.

The inference from it will be that he would easily become known

to the Separatists at Gainsborough, and through them to those of Basset-Lawe. We are hardly warranted in supposing that he was connected with the Thomas Robinson who was so deeply concerned in the affair of the Bawtry Hospital, but it is far from improbable that that Robinson was originally of Gainsborough, where in the reign of Charles II. Robinsons were chief persons among the dissenters of that town.

We are told that he was beneficed in Norfolk, somewhere near Yarmouth. This is far too vague to satisfy even the most moderate curiosity about such a man. In looking over the list of Norfolk incumbents in Blomefield's history of that county, I meet with only one Robinson of his period who was beneficed in any place which could be said to be near Yarmouth. This was the incumbent of the vicarage, or perpetual curacy of Mundham, which is about fourteen miles distant from Yarmouth. We have no more of his name than "Robinson;" but as Mundham was an impropriation of the Hospital of St. Giles in Norwich, and as we have the testimony of Dr. Joseph Hall, that Robinson the Separatist had some expectation of being appointed the master of that hospital, it seemed a reasonable presumption that Mundham was the benefice in Norfolk, which he is said to have held. But Mr. Ashton appears to have discovered that the incumbent of Mundham, whose surname was Robinson, was named Robert. It is, however, singular that there should be two Robinsons at that time, both brought into connection with St. Giles' Hospital at Norwich, and both clergymen.

We know that John Robinson lived for some time in Norwich, "Witness the late practice in Norwich, where certain citizens were excommunicated for resorting unto and praying with Mr. Robinson, a man worthily revered of all the city for the grace of God in him." This occurs in Ainsworth's "Answer to Crashaw," and is cited by Mr. Hanbury. Dr. Young has referred to one of Robinson's Tracts for a more direct testimony. It is his "People's Plea for the exercise of prophecy," 16mo, 1618. He dedicated it to "his Christian friends in Norwich and thereabouts," and afterwards says, "even as when I lived with you."

We also know that he left Norwich in some disgust. Ephraim Pagitt speaks of "one Master Robinson who, leaving Norwich malcontent, became a rigid Brownist." Dr. Hall, in a passage of his Apology against Brownists, cited by Dr. Young, makes this apparently uncharitable insinuation: "Neither doubt we that the mastership of the hospital at Norwich, or a lease from that city (sued for with

repulse) might have procured that this separation from the communion, government, and worship of the Church of England should not have been made by John Robinson."

On the whole it may be taken as being very near the truth, that he took the office assigned him in the Basset-Lawe church in 1606 or 1607.*

Winslowe, who joined his church while it was at Leyden, and who was one of the party of a hundred, the first instalment of the Leyden church to the English population of America, says, "Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first, than toward his latter end; for his study was peace and union as far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schisms and divisions there was nothing in the world more hateful to him. But for the government of the Church of England, as it was in the Episcopal way, the Liturgy, and stinted prayers of the church thereby, yea, the constitution thereof as national, so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy and the worthy receivers of the Lord's Supper, these things were never approved of by him, but witnessed against to his death, and are by the church over which he was to this day. Here was something of substantial principle, something very unlike the puerile cavils about the few ceremonial acts which were continued from the primeval ages of Christianity, interesting as symbolical, and venerable as of unfathomed antiquity; and we cannot but regard such a man as entitled to a voice in Christian controversies.

With the zeal of Brewster there was, therefore, now united the moderation and prudence, and perhaps the hesitancy, of Robinson. But we have now to introduce upon the stage another person who joined himself to the church when quite a youth, who removed with it to Amsterdam, and from thence to Leyden, and who was in the first ship, the Mayflower, which entered the harbor of New Plymouth. He held no office in the church, but he had the chief share in managing the civil affairs of the colony, and subsequently became the person to whom we are indebted for so much authentic information concerning this movement. This was WILLIAM BRADFORD, to whose energy while still quite a young man the church appears to have been greatly indebted in the trying circumstances which attended its removal from England.

It is to Dr. Cotton Mather that we are indebted for what is known of the early life of Bradford. He seems to have owed most of his

* See Bradford's testimony to the character of Robinson.

information to writings of Bradford himself, which are now lost. An unfortunate, but very excusable misprint in Dr. Mather's work, or more probably a mistake in the manuscript, has frustrated all former inquiries into the origin and family connections of Bradford, about which curiosity has been alive. In the *Magnalia* we read that he was born at Ansterfield. No such place can be found in the villare of England, and therefore the name was no guide to the country in which inquiry might be made about him with any chance of success. But, in fact, what is printed *Ansterfield* ought to be *Austerfield*, a village near Scrooby, being about as far to the north-east of Bawtry as Scrooby is to the south. And this point having been ascertained, opportunities were opened for the discovery of the station in life which his family had occupied, to support the representations given in general terms by Dr. Mather, and of the persons with whom the family of the future Governor of New Plymouth were connected by friendship or alliances.

Austerfield is an ancient village, consisting then, as it does now, of a few houses inhabited by persons engaged in the occupation of husbandry, and a small chapel of a very early age. Ecclesiastically, it is dependent on the church of Blythe, and the vicar of that parish appoints the curate. Unlike Scrooby in that respect, whose early registers are lost, Austerfield has preserved them from the beginning in a good state; and it is chiefly by the help of what is recorded in them that we are able to show that this was the birthplace of Governor Bradford, and to give some account, such as it is, of his family.

Dr. Mather says that he was sixty-nine years of age at the time of his death, May the 9th, 1657. This would carry back his birth to the year 1588-9, and with this agrees with sufficient exactness the following entry among the baptisms at Austerfield:—

1589, March 19th. William, the son of William Bradfourth—where 1589 is 1590, according to our present mode of dating.

Dr. Mather further informs us that he was born to some estate, that his parents died when he was young, and that he was brought up by his grandfather and uncles. These statements receive curious support from the entries in the register, and from fiscal and testamentary documents.

On these authorities the following genealogical account of the Bradfords of Austerfield is based:—

A William Bradford was living there in or about 1575, when he and one John Hanson were the only persons in the township who were assessed to the Subsidy. Bradford was taxed on twenty shillings

land, and Hanson on sixty shillings goods, annual value. These were the two grandfathers of the future Governor; and the circumstance, trifling as it is, that they were the only assessable inhabitants of Austerfield, shows at once the general poverty of the place, and that they stood in some degree of elevation above all their neighbors, except the incumbent of the chapel, who, like other clergymen, was not subject to the tax. "William Bradfourth the eldest" was buried January 10th, 1595-6. This was the grandfather of the Governor, who was then about six years old.

Dr. Mather informs us, that a portion of the lands of the family descended to William, and that he sold them when he was of full age and was living in Holland.

He was brought up, as the sons of yeomanry in those days were when not sent into the towns, attending to the husbandry operations of the family. But the report of Clifton's awakening ministry reached Austerfield. Young as he was, the voice came home to his heart. Babworth cannot be less than six or seven miles from Austerfield, yet he was a frequent attendant on Clifton's ministry. In going from Austerfield to Babworth, he would pass through Serooby, where we see Downes, a friend of the family, resided, and where he would meet with several persons, Brewster among the number, who walked across the meadows to Babworth, and who returned, their hearts burning within them and strengthening one another in the persuasion that such were the ministers by whom Christianity put forth its genuine influences. And when Clifton's voice was silenced by authority he would be amongst those who reclaimed against the unwise and oppressive act; and when Clifton gave up forever his pleasant benefice and separated himself from the church to which perhaps he was in heart strongly attached — his affections drawing him one way and his judgment another — Bradford, young as he was, would be likely to see that no other way had remained for him, and that it was his own duty and his highest interest to render him all the encouragement and support in his little power, and to abandon the church which one of its best ministers had been driven out from. Opposing himself to the wishes of his family, and daring the derision which would be showered upon him by the clowns of Austerfield, he declared himself a Separatist, joined the Serooby church, and became a very active and useful person in the difficult operations which they were soon called on to perform. This seems to have been the part he took when he was from fifteen to eighteen years of age.

To complete the early portion of the personal history of this re-

markable man, which is the only part of it which belongs to me, it may be added that it has been discovered by the American inquirers into the history of the early settlers, that he married one Dorothy May. She accompanied him to America, one of the memorable hundred who were in the Mayflower. She reached the American coast; but, while the ship was in the harbor at New Plymouth, she fell overboard and was drowned.

Two years after her death, Bradford married Mrs. Alice Southworth, a widow, to whom, according to tradition, he had been attached before he went to America. She had married in the interval, and became a widow. Bradford renewed his proposals by letter. She accepted them, and sailed for New Plymouth in the second year of the existence of the colony. Two sons of hers, Constant Southworth and Thomas Southworth, also came out, who were brought up by Governor Bradford, and became important persons in the colony.

The Southworths were eminently a Basset-Lawe family. We learn from Thoroton that in 1612, there was a Thomas Southworth, who had lands at Clarborough, and a William Southworth a freeholder at Heyton. We find, also, in the Visitation of Nottinghamshire, in 1614, that an Edward Southworth was then living, but so little did he care for such things, that all the account of his family which he gave to the Heralds was, that he was the son of Robert Southworth, the son of Richard, the son of Aymond, who lived at Wellam in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. From another source we know that one of the family, a Mr. Robert Southworth, consorted with the extreme Puritans, who were going the way of separation.

The fact that some of the name became early settled in the new country, we cannot err if we claim some of them as lay members of the Scrooby church, perhaps this very Mr. Robert Southworth himself.

We have direct and positive evidence on which to show two other persons who were members of the Separatist church before it left England. These were RICHARD JACKSON and ROBERT ROCHESTER. They were both inhabitants of Scrooby, and both included with Brewster in the penalties imposed by the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical in 1608. I have not seen any other notice of them. The proceedings of the Separatists were in pointed opposition to the law as it then stood, and can only be justified on the ground that in affairs so sacred and important as those of religion, there is a law which is above all human institutions, to which every man is bound to be obedient, when its requirements are made manifest to his own understanding.

Nor have I been able to discover more than one particular instance of the law being brought to bear on any of these Basset-Lawe non-conformists, besides the silencing of some of the ministers. Toby Matthew, archbishop of York, in the return which he made to the Exchequer, on the 13th of November, 1608, of the fines which had been imposed within his diocese in the preceding year, for the purpose of the fines being levied, inserted the following:—

“Richard Jackson, William Brewster, and Robert Rochester, of Scrooby, in the county of Nottingham, Brownists or Separatists, for a fine or amercement of £20 apiece, set and imposed upon every of them by Robert Abbot and Robert Snowden, Doctors of Divinity, and Matthew Dodsworth, Bachelor of Law, Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical within the province of York, for not appearing before them upon lawful summons at the Collegiate Church of Southwell, the 22d day of April, Anno Domini, 1608 — £60.”

Before this return was made to the Exchequer, the Basset-Lawe Separatists had formed the resolution to seek in another country that protection and toleration which were denied them at home; and they saw at no great distance another country where was a public toleration of all forms of Protestantism.

For the rest we refer to Bradford's history.

GOV. WINSLOW'S ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES OF NEW ENGLAND, ANNEXED TO HIS NARRATIVE OF THE PLANTATIONS. A. D. 1624.*

A few things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians; both touching their religion and sundry other customs among them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters, (which came to the press against my will and knowledge,) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God; therein I erred, though we could then gather no better; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*,† to be the principal maker of all the rest; and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that they know not. At first, they say, there was no sachem or king, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends, and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quachet*, that is to say, walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury. Never man saw this Kiehtan, only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good; and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together and cry unto him; and so likewise for plenty, victory, etc., sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the northward of us, *Hobbamoqui*; this, as far as we can conceive, is the

* This account of the Natives, will deeply interest all the readers of the preceding pages.

† The meaning of the word Kiehtan hath reference to antiquity, for *chise* is an old man, and *Kieh-chise* a man that exceedeth in age.

devil. Him they call upon, to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same, for some conceived anger against them ; but upon their calling upon him, can and doth help them ; but when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kiehtan is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure ; insomuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him. This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, etc., but most ordinarily a snake. He appears not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious among them ; though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor. He appears most ordinary, and is most conversant with three sorts of people ; one, I confess I neither know by name or office directly ; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think no weapon can kill them ; another they call by the name of *Powah*, and the third *Paniese*.

The office and duty of the *Powah* is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with them in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or as we term it, say amen to that he saith ; yet sometime break out into a short musical note with him. The *Powah* is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joineth many antic and laborious gestures with the same, over the party diseased. If the party be wounded, he will also seem to suck the wound ; but if they be curable, (as they say,) he toucheth it not, but a shooke, that is the snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the eagle, sitteth on the shoulder, and licks the same. This none see but the *Powah*, who tells them he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus, so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the *Powah's* speech, he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased ; but whether they perform it I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called sometimes to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could to make them understand against the same. They have told me I should see the devil at those times come to the party ; but I assured myself and

them of the contrary, which so proved ; yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us werè present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in child-birth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this Powah ; though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in other parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature ; for on the third day after child-birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in cold weather, in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases they kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan : saying, in their memory, he was much more called upon. The Narragansets exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, Priests) come : thither, at certain known times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, etc., all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely ; and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This, the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their Sachems would appoint the like ; and because the plague has not reigned at Narraganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

The Panieses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, etc., or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them by painting, disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men ; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachems' counsel, without whom they will not war, or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachems, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of great stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous and humane in their carriages than any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these,

they train up the most forward and likeliest boys, from their childhood, in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age, the devil may appear to them, causing to drink the juice of sen-try and other bitter herbs, till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again and again, till at length through extraordinary pressing of nature, it will seem to be all blood; and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness, they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes and stumps and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their sachems cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection and pay homage unto them; neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation; yet to be commanded by the greater, as occasion seemeth. Of this sort is *Massasoit* our friend, and *Canonicus* of Narraganset, our supposed enemy. Every sachem taketh care of the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged and any way maimed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth; otherwise, they say their seed would in time become ignoble; and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure. This government is successive and not by choice; if the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

Every sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance; out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them in their bounds. In this circuit, whoever hunteth, if any kill venison, they bring him his fee; which is four parts of the same, if it be killed on land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The great sachems or kings know not their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the sachem's. When they come, they tell them how long they will stay and to what place they

go; during which time they receive entertainment, according to their persons, but want not. Once a year the Panieses use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the sachem. To that end, they appoint a certain time and place, near the sachem's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn and make a great stack thereof. There the Panieses stand ready to give thanks to the people, on the sachem's behalf; and after acquaint the sachem therewith, who fetcheth the same and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical which they take from one another and altogether; yet it will draw tears from their eyes and almost from ours also. But if they recover, then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoro*. When they bury the dead, they sow up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth; if the party be a sachem, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it; also he will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house; they will pull down the mats, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over housekeeping.

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at sometimes they take some pains in fishing. The women live a most slavish life; they carry all their burdens; set and dress their corn, gather it in, and seek out for much of their food; beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices, whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or show forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable; for when they come

to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head, till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed, some as modest, as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men; being very chaste also; yet other some are light, lascivious, and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live, where they never come unwelcome; for *where are most women there is greatest plenty.*

When a woman hath her monthly turns, she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone; after which, she washeth herself, and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family. For adultery, the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are, as well as in other places; but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery; for no man will keep such a one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In case of theft, for the first offence, he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, beaten by the sachem, with a cudgel on the naked back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upwards, that thereby all men may know and shun him. If any man kill another, he must likewise die for the same. The sachem not only passeth sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the sachem himself, before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away, though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel; but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, they presently pull off their breeches, stockings and shoes, wring out the water, if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these

be off, yet have they another small garment which covereth their secrets. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter, or fox skin on their right arm; but only their bracer on the left. Women, and all of that sex, wear strings about their legs, which the men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observative; they keep account of time, by the moon, and winters or summers; they know divers of the stars by name; in particular they know the North Star, and call it *maske*, which is to say, *the bear*; also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather beforehand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list — can raise storms and tempests, which they usually do, when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits, and at such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for their language, it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding, by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles, they take this course: where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith: and lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident, as men pass by, they will oft renew the same: by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be less tedious, by reason of many historical discourses which will be related to him.

For that continent on which we are, called New England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of the main land adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise; for they affirm confidently that it is an island,

and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea between us and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call *Mohegan*, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's river, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as I hear) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this their opinion is thus much; though Virginia be not above an hundred leagues from us, yet they never heard of *Powhatan*, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and *Tisquantum*, who went thither in an English ship; and therefore it is more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years' experience I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, etc. Some object because our plantation lieth in the latitude of two and forty, it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the reason of the contrary; only experience teaches us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own conditions with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of heat, nor nipped by biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired had we lived in England with the like means. The day is two hours longer than here when at the shortest, and as much shorter when at the longest.

The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, and others a mixed sand, etc. The chiefest grain is the Indian maize or Guinea wheat; the seed-time beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quality to the same in Virginia; the reason I conceive is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen. But whereas it is objected against New England, that corn will not grow there except the ground be manured with fish: I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground, and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Vir-

ginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without them, and have as good corn or better than we have that set with them; though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil to sow wheat, rye, barley, peas, and oats, than to set maize, which our Indians call *Ewachim*; for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labor and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days, yet men agreeing together and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall plant here, by trading with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had to affirm, that the English, Dutch, and French return yearly many thousand pounds profit by trade only, from that island on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity and more necessary, which may be and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west-country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbor all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to Plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come? I confess we have come so far short of the means, to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercies and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter.

DE RASIERES' LETTER.

In the Massachusetts Hist. Collections, vol. 3, first series, there is a record of correspondence between the Dutch at Manhattan [New York], and the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Afterwards Isaac De Rasieres was despatched from the Dutch West India Company at Manhattan, on an embassy to the colony of New Plymouth. Having arrived at Buzzard's Bay, he addressed a letter to Gov. Bradford acknowledging the reception of former letters and expressing the salutatory regards of the Hon. Lords of the West India Company, whereupon the Governor sent a boat for him, and the visit was highly beneficial in its results.

Afterwards, De Rasieres, in a letter to one of his employers, gave a description of Plymouth, a part of which has been found, and is too appropriate and interesting to be omitted here. It was obtained in Holland by the instrumentality of Mr. Broadhead, late secretary of legation at the court of London. Mr. Broadhead says, "Unfortunately the letter is defective, and we may reasonably infer that the missing portion would have been of the highest interest. But quite enough remains to induce lively congratulation that a happy chance has now placed so precious a fragment within our reach." It was first published in the New York Hist. Colls., and has been published by Mr. Russell in his "Pilgrim Memorials."

"Coming out of the river Nassau * you sail east and by north about fourteen miles, along the coast, a half a mile from the shore, and you then come to 'Frenchman's Point,' † at a small river where those of Patucxet‡ have a house made of hewn oak planks, called Aptucxet,§ where they keep two men, winter and summer, in order to maintain the trade and possession. Where also they have built a shallop, in order to go and look after the trade in sewan, in Sloup's Bay || and

* Narraganset Bay.

† De Rasieres dates his letter to Gov. Bradford, of 4th October, 1627, from "aboard the barque Nassau," off this point. [See Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. I., new series, p. 362.]

‡ The Indian name for New Plymouth.

§ See Bradford's description of Manomet, in Prince, p. 67; and see also Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. I., new series, pp. 357, 358.

|| The western entrance to Narraganset Bay.

thereabouts, because they are afraid to pass Cape Malabaer, and in order to avoid the length of the way ; which I have prevented for this year* by selling them fifty fathoms of sewan, because the seeking after sewan by them is prejudicial to us, inasmuch as they would, by so doing, discover the trade in furs ; which if they were to find out, it would be a great trouble for us to maintain, for they already dare to threaten that if we will not leave off dealing with that people, they will be obliged to use other means ; if they do that now, while they are yet ignorant how the case stands, what will they do when they do get a notion of it ?

“ From Aptuxcet the English can come in six hours, through the woods, passing several little rivulets of fresh water, to New Plymouth, the principal place in the country Patuxcet, so called in their ‘ Oc-troye ’ from His Majesty in England. New Plymouth lies in a large bay to the north of Cape Cod, or Malabaer, east and west from the said [north] point of the cape, which can be easily seen in clear weather. Directly before the commenced town lies a sand-bank, about twenty paces broad, whereon the sea breaks violently with an easterly and north-easterly wind. On the north side there lies a small island where one must run close along, in order to come before the town ; then the ships run behind that bank and lie in a very good roadstead. The bay is very full of fish [chiefly] of cod, so that the Governor before named,† has told me that when the people have a desire for fish, they send out two or three persons in a sloop, whom they remunerate for their trouble, and who bring them, in three or four hours’ time, as much fish as the whole community require for a whole day — and they muster about fifty families.

“ At the south side of the town there flows down a small river of fresh water, very rapid, but shallow, which takes its rise from several lakes in the land above, and there empties into the sea ; where in April and the beginning of May there come so many herring‡ from the sea which want to ascend that river, that it is quite surprising. This river the English have shut in with planks, and in the middle with a little door, which slides up and down, and at the sides with trellice work, through which the water has its course, but which they can also close

* See also Bradford’s account of this transaction, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. I., new series, p. 357.

† Probably in the portion of this letter which is unfortunately missing.

‡ In the original Dutch, “ ELFT,” is generally translated Shad, — perhaps it would be more properly rendered *alewives*.

with slides. At the mouth they have constructed it with planks, like an eel pot, with wings, where in the middle is also a sliding door, and with trellice work at the sides, so that between the two [dams] there is a square pool, into which the fish aforesaid come swimming in such shoals, in order to get up above, where they deposit their spawn, that at one tide there are 10,000 to 12,000 fish in it, which they shut off in the rear at the ebb, and close up the trellices above, so that no more water comes in; then the water runs out through the lower trellices and they draw out the fish with baskets, each according to the land he cultivates, and carry them to it, depositing in each hill three or four fishes, and in these they plant their maize, which grows as luxuriantly therein as though it were the best manure in the world; and if they do not lay this fish therein, the maize will not grow, so that such is the nature of the soil.

“New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill stretching east towards the sea-coast, with a broad street about a cannon shot of 800 [yards] long, leading down the hill; with a [street] crossing in the middle, northwards to the rivulet, and southwards to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also inclosed behind and at the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and court-yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade, against a sudden attack; and at the ends of the streets there are three wooden gates. In the centre, on the cross street, stands the Governor's house, before which is a square inclosure upon which four patereros [steen-stucken] are mounted, so as to flank along the streets. Upon the hill, they have a large square house, with a flat roof, made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand,—and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day.

“Their government is after the English form. The Governor has his council, which is chosen every year by the entire community by

election or prolongation of term. In the inheritance they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgment for his seniority of birth.

“They have made stringent laws and ordinances upon the subject of fornication and adultery, which laws they maintain and enforce very strictly indeed, even among the tribes which live amongst them. They [the English] speak very angrily, when they hear from the savages that we should live so barbarously in these respects, and without punishment.

“Their farms are not so good as ours, because they are more stony, and consequently not so suitable for the plough. They apportion their land according as each has means to contribute to the Eighteen Thousand Guilders which they have promised to those who had sent them out; whereby they have their freedom without rendering an account to any one; only if the king should choose to send a Governor-General they would be obliged to acknowledge him as sovereign chief.

“The maize seed which they do not require for their own use is delivered over to the Governor, at three guilders the bushel, who in his turn sends it in sloops to the North for the trade in skins among the savages; they reckon one bushel of maize against one pound of beaver's skin; in the first place, a division is made, according to what each has contributed, and they are credited for the amount in the account of what each has to contribute yearly towards the reduction of his obligation. Then with the remainder they purchase what next they require, and which the Governor takes care to provide every year.

“They have better means of living than ourselves, because they have the fish so abundant before their doors. There are also many birds, such as geese, herons, and cranes, and other small-legged birds, which are in great abundance there in the winter. The tribes in their neighborhood have all the same customs as already above described, only they are better conducted than ours, because the English give them the example of better ordinances and a better life; and who, also, to a certain degree, give them laws, by means of the respect they from the very first have established amongst them.

“The savages [there] practice their youth in labor better than the savages round about us; the young girls in sowing maize, the young men in hunting; they teach them to endure privation in the field in a singular manner, to wit: when there is a youth who begins to approach manhood, he is taken by his father, uncle, or nearest friend, and is conducted blindfolded into a wilderness, in order that he may

not know the way, and is left there by night or otherwise, with a bow and arrows, and a hatchet and a knife. He must support himself there a whole winter, with what the scanty earth furnishes at this season, and by hunting. Towards the spring they come again, and fetch him out of it, take him home and feed him up again until May. He must then go out again every morning with the person who is ordered to take him in hand; he must go into the forest to seek wild herbs and roots which they know to be the most poisonous and bitter; these they bruise in water and press the juice out of them, which he must drink and immediately have ready such herbs as will preserve him from death or vomiting; and if he cannot retain it, he must repeat the dose until he can support it, and until his constitution becomes accustomed to it so that he can retain it. Then he comes home, and is brought by the men and women, all singing and dancing, before the Sackima; and if he has been able to stand it all out well, and if he is fat and sleek, a wife is given to him.

“In that district there are no lions or bears, but there are the same kinds of other game, such as deers, hinds, beavers, otters, foxes, lynxes, seals, and fish, as in our district of country. The savages say that far in the interior, there are certain beasts of the size of oxen, having but one horn, which are very fierce. The English have used great diligence in order to see them, but cannot succeed therein, although they have seen the flesh and hides of them which were brought to them by the savages. There are also very large elks there which the English have indeed seen. The lion skins which we sometimes see our savages wear, are not large, so that the animal itself must be small; they are of a mouse grey color, short in the hair, and long in the claws. The bears are some of them large and some small; but the largest are not as large as the middle-sized ones which come from Greenland. Their fur is long and black, and their claws large. The savages esteem the flesh and grease as a great dainty. Of the birds, there is a kind like starlings, which we call *maize thieves*, because they do so much damage to it. They fly in large flocks, so that they flatten the corn in any place where they light, just as if cattle had lain there. Sometimes we take them by surprise and fire amongst them with hail shot, immediately that we have made them rise, so that sixty, seventy, and eighty fall all at once, which is very pleasant to see. There are also very large turkeys living wild; they have very long legs, and can run extraordinarily fast, so that we generally take savages with us when we go to hunt them, for even when one has deprived them of the power of flying, they yet run so fast that we cannot catch

them unless their legs are hit also. In the autumn and in the spring there come a great many geese, which are very good, [to eat,] and easy to shoot, inasmuch as they congregate together in such large flocks. There are two kinds of partridges; the one sort are quite as small as quails, and the other like the ordinary kind here. There are also hares, but few in number, and not larger than a middle-sized rabbit; and they principally frequent where the land is rocky.

“This, sir, is what I have been able to communicate to you from memory, respecting New Netherland, and its neighborhood, in discharge of my bounden duty; I beg that the same may be so favorably received by you, and I beg to recommend myself for such further service as you may be pleased to command me in, wherever you may find me.

“In every thing your faithful servant,

“ISAACK DE RASIERES.”

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I N D E X .

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